

OF
GIFTS
AND
OFFICES
IN THE

Publick Worship of GOD.

A Treatise in Three Parts.

Endeavouring an Impartial Account,
What was in the Inspired Age of the Church.
What succeeded in the more Ordinary State.
What reasonably may be allowed now,
Prayer.

In Singing.

Preaching.

Designed to make People more Sober,
Serious in PUBLICK WORSHIP.
Regular and

By EDWARD WETENHALL D.D.

Chanter of Christ-Church, Dublin.

Dublin, . . . M. DC. LXXVIII.

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B 54. v. 2

OF THE GIFT OF PRAYER.

(By D.^r Edward Wetenhall.)

I Cor. XIV.

Προσβύνομαι τῷ Πνεύματι, προσβύνομαι δὲ ὃ τῷ νῦ.

Theodoret apud Occumenium.

Πνεῦμα, καὶ πνευματικὸν χάρισμα λήψαι.

S. Chrysostom in I Cor. Homil. 35.

καὶ γὰρ ὅσοι τὸ παιδιεῖν ἐν χάρισμα ἔχουσιν οὐκ αἶψά μετα-
γλῶττες ἐν ἰσχυρῶ μὲν, καὶ ἡ γλῶττα ἐκδιγμένη, ἡ τῷ Πνεύματι
καὶ τῷ ῥηματι οὐκ ἐν ἰσχυρίᾳ, οὐκ ἐκ ἑξὺ τὸ λογίζεσθαι.

Quidam solâ Novitate gaudent, atque ut statim Novi-
tas esse desinit, nauscant. Quo genere hominum,
cū in rebus cæteris nihil est molestius, tum in rebus
sacris sunt molestissimi & intolerabiles: quāquam
ut rumpar iſâ, ferre illos cogor, nisi velim & Evan-
gelium ipsum è medio tollere. Luther in *Præfat.*
Form. Miss. & Commun. pro Eccles. Wittenberg.

DUBLIN,

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OF THE
GIFT
BY
RAYNER

THE
GIFT
BY
RAYNER

To the Learned and truly Venerable,
Dr. RICHARD BUSBY,
My ever Honoured Master.

S I R,



Have oftentimes in secret reproached myself of ingratitude, in that I never yet in any of those things, which I exposed to the World, have made publick acknowledg-ment how much I owe to You: Sincerely therefore now repenting, I reform; and own my self to have received from You not onely excellent Rudiments of good Literature, but the first Rational Impressi-
ons of Religion.

I rather prefix this Recognition to the ensuing Discourse, than to either of the other in its company, because, Sir, it was truly the sense I had of Your piety, which first operated towards the reconciling me to Church-Musick. I came to You with prejudices (very unreasonable, such as commonly all prejudices are) against it: The first Organ I ever saw or heard, was in Your House, which was in those dayes a more regular Church than most we had publickly. I then thus judged, if a man of such real Devotion, as I knew You to be of, would keep an Organ for sacred Use, even when it was interdicted and of dangerous conse-
quenc

quence, there was certainly more of reason for it, and serviceableness in it, than I apprehended. When afterwards God was pleased to bring again the Captivity of our Mother the English Church, my own experience soon convinced, that those my favourable thoughts were well just: and now I have thought my self concern'd to tell the prejudicate World so much.

I have, Sir, no other recompence to make, which You will accept, for all Your antient care and real kindnesses towards me, than this poor acknowledgment, together with my serious prayers for a full Retribution to You from Him, who sees in secret, but will reward openly.

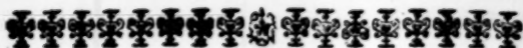
In confidence that You acquiesce herein as a plenary satisfaction, I will dare to stile my self,

SIR,

Your very thankful Scholar,

And ever humble Servant,

Edward Wetenhall,



The REVIEW.

EVery man (especially if of the Function I am of) is bound to do , what in conscience he thinks he can , for the *publick good* ; This is all the Plea I have for writing on these Subjects : And if men are not either *disorderly troublesome* , or abominably *self-flatterers* , their *Endeavours* of this kind amongst all good men are usually *well accepted* , or *easily pardoned* ; This has made me hope , with the better sort , a *candid Reception* .

For even as to those particulars wherein I may seem most to have exceeded what became my condition and place , and especially in the *presumption* of the *Dedication* , I can safely avow , next to the paying the Duty I owe to their Eminencies, I had no more solemn end therein, than by putting my Book into so *great hands* , to *secure* its doing *all the service* 'tis capable of. If my Zeal for Reall and Regular Devotion may conciliate to this my Ambition, and to the other Freedom I have used, a favourable censure, I shall rejoice : if it do not , such is the uprightness of my intention , that whatever shall be the success , I have nothing to repent of in my Undertaking (as far as I know) but my insufficient Performances.

Of these possibly there is no man more intimately sensible than my self.

—Plurima cerno

Me quoque, qui scripsi, iudice, digna lini.

It is much easier to satisfy an Auditory with a Sermon, than the World with a Book: and were I to write this over again, there are not a few things which I would change, others which I would strike out, and more that I would supply.

But the Alterations I could desire, I would not have understood touching any Doctrinals I maintain, or the Expedients I offer to publick benefit: my meaning is onely touching particular expressions, diverse superfluous repetitions, allegations, proofs, and some punctilio's, which yet, it may be, all men will not take notice of. What of this nature I judge most obnoxious to mistake, I will here set down, and together observe to my Reader some Escapes, which are not my own.

And first, every mans eye will inform him, that the Character which the Printer had to use, being somewhat old and worn, there are several letters and syllables very blind, or scarce appearing, some not at all, which, from the sense, the judicious Reader may easily be able to supply. The Passage I have observed, at which any can be most at a loss, is, page 186. line penult. of *winning*.

To the same Original many ill Punctuations are to be referred: for having not sufficient variety of *points* of the same size with the *letter*, the Printer has used sometimes those he had belonging to another *letter*. As an instance I give page 5. line 19. where to an *Italian* letter is put a *Text-letter-period*, and the period too destructive of the sense: for redress, I desire it be read thus---*also*, it is plain by the Process of his discourse, that ---

Next, which is a fault of my own, writing with

a great deal of freedom, I have sometimes used, as some may reasonably judge, too much liberty even with words, and taken them otherwise than in their most proper and artificial sense. Of this nature my use of the word *Faculty*, pag. 39. lin. 22. has been by some thought, where I call the Gift of Prayer a *Faculty*. Nothing was less in my thoughts, than to intimate thereby that it is a Faculty, as by that name we mean *Potentia naturalis*: for I afterwards call it an *Habit*, an *Ability*. In all such cases, let one term be taken as explicatory of the other, and let none make me an offender for a word. It is hard to be always so accurate in our expressions, as not sometimes *loqui cum vulgo*. Thus too page 720, I affirm some mens Ordination Null, and in the next line speaking more complyingly, call it *imperfect*: I understand thereby such *imperfection* as in our present case makes it Null.

Again, as to our *Greek* Character, it is very small, blind and old, and therefore many times bad accents, acutes for graves, aspirates for lenes, some false, some abounding letters have slipped in. Had the Press here more encouragement, it would be better furnished.

Also in what *Hebrew* words occur, there are some mistakes, and especially, put for more than once: page 220. l. 9. and pag: 649. l. 22.

Further, our Paper being somewhat of the least, and the Margin very small, the Citations which are in the Margin are often imperfect, and sometimes by the Printer totally omitted. But I can safely affirm my self to have used great faithfulness in citing Authors, and to have alledged very few passages out

of any which I have not seen. The chief, and all that come to my knowledge, I will ingenuously confess, *Pag. 94.* I cite *St. Austin* upon the credit of *Dr. Heylin*, producing those words out of him, *Hist. of Liturg. ch. 5. sect. 9.* But though I have not found those very words in *St. Austin*, yet I have observed the passage of *Sursum Corda* in *St. Austin* seven or eight times mentioned, as usuall in the Liturgies of his dayes. Particularly in his first Tome, in his Book *De ver. Relig. Quotidie per universum orbem genus humanum una voce respondet sursum corda habere ad Dominum.* Again, *Tom. 2. Epist. 156. Ad Probam.* And very often otherwise, both in his *Sermons* and *Expositions*. Again, several of the *Rabbies* I have cited upon the credit of men much versed in the Rabbinical learning: but then I have generally named those men, whose authority I rely on, in the Margin or Text; otherwise I have read those Passages my self. But I must acknowledge want of leisure, and indeed, of those kind of Books, makes me too much a Rabby at second hand.

In my translating Authours, I have not alwayes render'd word for word, for neither do I like it; but, I have not wittingly falsified any one Passage of any Authour whatsoever, but have still been faithful, as I conceived, to the sense. Thus in that Text of *Origen's, pag. 97. Eorum qua geruntur in Baptismo, verborum gestorumque, & ordinum atque interrogationum, &c.* I have rendred *Gestorum*, Gestures, not mistaking it for *Gestuum*, but because, *qua geruntur* just preceding, I could not, without Tautology, render it literally, and can conceive the Father meant nothing thereby, but some exterior rites
and

and bodily acts then used in Baptism, which I knew not how more fitly to express than by *gestures*. The like liberty it may be observed, I have taken upon like occasions in other places.

Scimus & hanc veniam, petimusque damusque ---

Indeed my caution in avowing or disavowing any point to have been such or such an Authour's judgment has been such, that I cannot vindicate it sometimes from a poor and mean diffidence to my own sense. I will give one instance. I have taken notice page 316 of *Luthers* authority against Instrumentall Musick alledged out of H. Eckard his *Fascic: Controv. Theolog.* by the Pseudonymous Authour of the *Apology* for the *Ejected English Ministers*. Observing the manner of both those Writers citing *Luther* to this purpose, I was confident that the one never read in *Luther*, what he saies as from him, and that the other had onely a confused memory of somewhat he had read in him, which at randome he thought might be interpreted against Church-musick (as it was objected by one *Anbaldinus*) but either knew not where to find it, or did not, when he wrote, consult it. All this while I had the very Text in *Luther*, which I was, and am confident, they blindly aimed at, in my hand and eye. Yet because two Writers affirm, and give me no more particular advantage to try their sincerity, than to read over seven large *Folio's*, I would not answer, as in my conscience I think I might, *Non est scriptum*, *Luther* never said so; but if any be of the same mind with me, and think my distrust of my own search to be either too modest or too cautious, they may be pleased to add page 318. after line 14. as follows.

Thought

Though this answer may suffice, yet till Writers, who avouch great names at such randome, will be pleased to satisfie the World by more particular Citations, that they neither abuse themselves nor others, as I have shewn in part, and can abundantly detect, *Irenaeus Philalethes* does, I will deal a little more boldly, and say, I do not believe, but both of them father upon *Luther* what he never either writ, or said. And, for my own justification, I will produce the Text of *Luther*, which I am well convinced the one of them, who does not use to conceal his reading, never lookt on, and both of them found their assertion on, if on any in his Works commonly extant. The passage is in his *Formul. Miss. & Commun. pro Eccles. Wittemberg*. Which Book, after its Preface, begins with a *Profession*, that he never designed to abolish the whole Order of *Worship* then in use in the *Roman Church*, but *pestis additamentis vitiatum repurgare, & pium usum monstrare*; "To purge it from the vile additions, "with which it was corrupted, and to shew its "godly use. He then shews how simple the practice of our Lord, and of his Apostles, was in the administration of the Holy Supper. He then tells us, how far from blame the Prayers and Hymns, which the Primitive and Antient Fathers added, were. But, in the degenerating age of the Church, he miserably complains [*Ubi jam licentia fiebat augendi & mutandi prout cuiuslibet libebat, accedente tum & questus & ambitionis sacerdotalis tyrannide, tum ceperunt Altaria illa & Insignia Baal, & omnium deorum poni in Templum Domini*]" When once the trick was brought "in of adding and changing as men pleased in the
Office

“ Office of the Communion, through the Tyranny
“ of the Priests ambition, and their desire of filthy
“ lucre, then begun those Altars, and the Images
“ or Enligns of *Baal*, and all the Gods, to be put
“ into the Temple of the Lord. In the business of
Church-musick, what have we to do with the Fur-
niture of Popish Altars? Who ever heard of Organs
upon Altars? I profess, I can no more endure a
Rood-loft, nor yet the abominations which adorn
the Romists Altars than *Luther*. But still what’s this
to Organs? God grant some men either *Brains* or
Foreheads, and they’ll never cite thus.

But to go on: After a long Catalogue of abuses
brought in to the Communion, after complaints
De Canone lacero & abominabili---Collectis mercenariis
—making the Communion *Monopolium Sacerdotum*--
—saying Masses *pro defunctis, pro itineribus, pro opi-*
bus, &c. he challenges it as a difficult point, *Titu-*
los solos numerare quorum Missa factum est sacrificium:
After taxing these, I say, and diverse other corrup-
tions, and Essentiall depravations of that Holy in-
stitution, he has these words, which I conceive to
be the passage meant. *Nam Additamenta externa va-*
sium, cereorum, pallarum, deinde Organorum & to-
tius Musice---quid dicam? Nihil erat, &c. “ To what
“ purpose should I speak of those outward Additions
“ of Vessels, Tapers, Palls, and then of Organs,
“ and all the Musick in use in the Mass? There was
“ nothing of *Artifice* almost in all the World, which
“ could draw either ornament or gain, which was
“ not used to set off the Mass with. It is most plain
hereby, if *Luther* intended to condemn Organs and
Church-musick at all, it was as abused by the Pa-
pists

pists in the transforming the Communion: but such use thereof as we have described, that he never designed to condemn, is evident by a multitude of Passages following in that very Book, of which I will set down some. *Kyrie eleeson, ut hactenus celebratum est, variis melodiis, diversis temporibus, amplectimur.*---He is also for the *Quires* singing the Gradual with the Hallelujah, for their singing the Nicene Creed, the *Sanctus*, the *Agnus Dei*, the *Benedicamus Domino*, ---*adjecto Hallelujah in suis melodiis* but he would have all these in the Mother-tongue. Who ever heard of neer so much Musick in our Communion-Service, as this comes to, which yet *Luther* allows. And to omit other Passages, he laments towards the end, *Poeta & Musici nobis desunt*, we yet want Poets and Musicians which might compose for us, and publickly sing godly Hymns: In a word, these are all sincerely *Luthers* words and sense: But to be plain, *Luther* was not yet clear, what in such outward Decencies he would have settled; and therefore though it is most evident our Adversaries abuse him, when they alledge him absolutely against Church-musick, and our usual Cathedral practice, yet, as already insinuated, in these his Books, we lay not such weight on every expression, as to doom any Practice received by us, or the *Lutheran*, as well as other Reformed, Churches, by virtue of it, or for its sake.

Thus as to that Addition, which I refer to the Readers choice, to make or omit.

There is but one point of any general nature yet remaining, which I would suggest, and that is, that though these Discourses were all of them, as to their sub-

substance, framed and pen'd long before the design of Printing them, and perhaps somewhat in another Form, yet my troublesome Employments not permitting me the leisure of timely and mature Transcription, I have been forced to send all (I can scarce say) sheet by sheet to the Press: and many Additions and Alterations offering themselves, while a man Transcribes, it so came to pass, that I could never view all together till I saw all in Print. (Such is the disadvantage at which I have writ!) And therefore I must beg pardon, if now and then some connexive or limitative particles be wanting, which if expressly appearing, would make all more plain and consistent. I am very clear to my self in my own notions, and I could wish I had made, or could make, them so to all: I do believe I could have done it, had I the happiness (which some have too much of) call'd Leisure. But seeing it is as it is, I desire the Reader will not censure me as inconsistent with my self for any passages of this nature which he may observe, whether I have set them down in the ensuing amendments, or not. If any man shall duly convince me of an error, there shall be no one who will more willingly acknowledge and retract than my self: Onely I desire I may be dealt with in as much temper I have shewn.

Be pleased therefore to amend as follows.

Page: 15. lin: 9. Read *Adis*: II. v. 16. p: 55. l. 4. read *paroxysms*. p. 56. l. 1. for *Premise* r. *Premise*. p. 58. l. 23. for *Readily* r. *Really*. p. 60. over against l. 3. in the *Margin*, adde *Seci*. 7. p. 62. l. 11. r. *A man, though possessed* ---. p. 69. Over against l. 3. in the *Margin* *Seci*: 9. p 71. l. 4. *Marg*: adde *Mr. Tho.*

Long

Long of Exon. p. 73. for *every* read *ever*. p. 84. l. 26. read *possibly*. p. 115. l. last read, *as much*. p. 119. 22. r. *ordinarily in use*. p. 174. r. *best*. p. 179. l. 3. Adde, *To*. p. 212. over against l. 2. adde in the Margin, *Secd.* 2. p. 218. l. 23. adde after *as*, *I am apt to think*--p. 225. l. 18. r. 1. *Cor. XIV.* p. 198. l. 2. r. *Aras* and in *Humane*--p. 230. l. 21. After *Endlesse Authorities* adde, *Both Antient and Modern*; of which because the Modern ones will sway most with some men, I will therefore set down a few of them onely. p. 249. l. 2. and again p. 251. l. 2. and in severall other places in this discourse, which the intelligent reader will easily perceive by the sense, for *Consens* r. *Concent*. p. 270. l. 11. r. *Leguntur*.

What I had granted to the judgment of diverse learned men *pag: 229. lin. 25.* and in the next whole page, I may seem to have censured a little slightly, *pag: 336.* if the particular design of my discourse in each place be not distinctly attended. I allow in the former place, that the word *Psalmes*, when used in the new Testament, *is conceived, and that with great reason, to have commonly a particular reference to the book of Psalms*: and in particular, that the *Hymn* sung by our Lord and his disciples at the last *Passover* he kept was, in all probability, the *Great Hallelujah*; adding, that I see no inconveniency to interpret the *Psalms* spoken of by *St Paul*, *Epbes: V. 19.* and *Coloss. III. 16.* or by *St. James* *cap: V. 13.* (all which places, by the by, proceed onely of private and occasionall *Psalmody*.) touching *Dauids Psalms* chiefly or especially: Yet in the latter place, where I discourse of the Original,

or

or first commencement, of singing the whole book of Psalms in orderly course as we do at present in our Church, (and again too, pag: 352.) I seem to slight some mens interpreting these places *meerly* of *Dauids* Psalms, and call other opinions, that bear proportion therewith (as namely, that our Lord used the whole two and twentieth Psalm, when he hung upon the crosse, or even the Great Hallelujah, at his last supper) onely *conjectures*, *Probables of the lowest rank*, and so *bad Arguments* to prove the thing in hand. I affirm further, It is certain the *Publick Hymns* in the Primitive Christian Church were fitted to the then present estate by the *Holy Ghost*. In all these things, I am very constant to my own notions if I be aright apprehended, That the term Psalms, when the Apostle bids the faithfull to *Teach, speak to and admonish one another in Psalms*, to the end *The word of God may dwell plentifully in them*, may be interpreted of, or chiefly applied to, the book of Psalms, I see no reason to oppose: but that both that term, and the other two, *Hymns* and *Spiritual songs*, are to be understood solely thereof I do not see any Logick or Grammar renders so much as highly Probable; and therefore if this intreprétation be *probable*, it must be onely in the *lowest rank*. Again, I am as fully perswaded, that our Lord on the crosse used the Initiall words of the two and twentieth Psalm, as that he was crucified; but that he then used the whole, or the greatest part of that Psalm, I can scarce look upon as probable: I could therefore give these *conjectures* no more favourable name, than that of *Probables of the lowest rank*, that is, onely not impossible. Lastly as to the *Great Halls*.

Hallelujah, it is most likely indeed our Lord might use it: for celebrating a Jewish feast after the Jewish fashion, and amongst the Jewish people, who can think but he used the usuall Jewish Hymn? which (at least, as yet) was no wise improper. But to argue thus, Because one term may with good reason be applied chiefly to *Dauids* Psalms, therefore both it and two more were expressly designed touching them; or to derive the Orderly singing the whole book of Psalms in course, either from our Lords, or his and his Disciples, occasionall using some small passages or parcels out of it; or from thence, that the Apostles probably did prescribe to the Primitive Christians that they should speak to, teach and admonish one another in the words of those Psalms, as occasion privately offered, is as *Bad Logick* as a man need to be guilty of. A thing may be true, and yet not a fit argument to prove all, for which it shall be pleaded. And this was truly my sense

As to the number of Psalms, which make up the great *Hallelujah*, I have indeed expressly varied, allotting thereto six Psalms pag: 230. and but five pag: 336. but for this variation I have great authours to produce; and which party are in the right, I acknowledg my selfe not able to determine; having, as before complained, neither leisure to search the Originall books, from whence these authours pretend to derive this tradition, nor indeed the bookes themselves. All I can say is, that diligently perusing those Psalms I judged most probable, that it consisted onely of five, *viz.* Psalm 114, 115, 116, 117, 118: but herein I durst not be confident

fident, and therefore made use of both opinions; one-
 ly that which I thought most likely I put last, as my
 Second thoughts; making my judgment herein
 from the subject matter of the Psalms. If on the other
 side we will judge from the name הללויה
 or the *Great Hallelujah*, it is most probable this Hymn
 begun with Ps: 113. whose first word is הללויה
 whereas the 114th begins otherwise. But what shall
 we say to a third opinion, produced out of the fa-
 mous *Rambam*? The *great Hallelujah* saies he begins
 with the Psalm *Celebrate dominum*, viz. 118, and ends
 at the first Psalm of degrees, or Psalm 120. Learn-
 ed *Drusus* would not undertake to determin
 the case, but left it to the more learned (*Vid.*
Drus: in Matthew: XXVI. 30.) and so do I.

Pag: 356. l. 4. r. I desire. Pag: 371. l. 20. Af-
 ter fall, adde, This was long ago the sense of Gre-
 gory the Great in this particular: *Psalmista non optan-
 tis animos sed prophetantis ministerio denunciat.* Pastoral:
 Cur. cap 1.

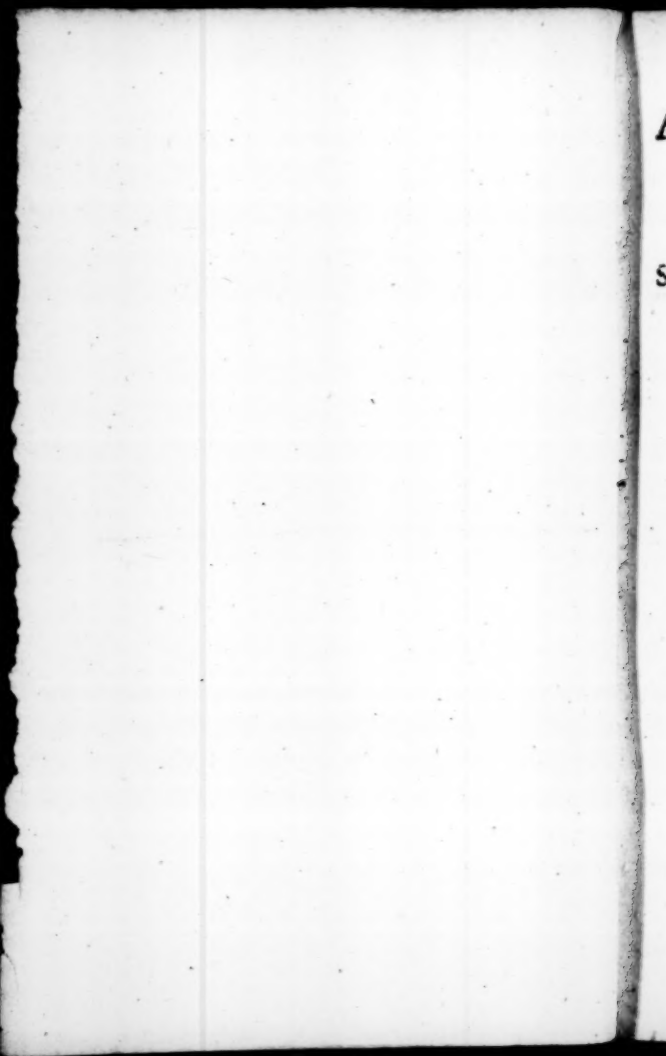
Pag: 436. l. 19. r. 1, Chron: VI. Pag:
 451. l. 23. r. to be considered .p. 467. l. penult. r.
Quest. & Respons. ad Orthodox. p. 480. l. 8. dele
 nay. pag: 489. in the Margin over against l. 20.
 Adde *Constitut: Apostolic.* lib: 2 cap. 57. p: 502. l.
 ult. r. came a long time after. pag. 521. over against.
 l. 14. in the Margin. add, *Rabb. Dav. R. Menahem.*
&c. vid Pagnin. ad vocem. p. 528. l. ult. r. quos. Pag 563
 l. 8. Add in the Margin Sect. 8. p. 569. in the Marg: r.
 Sect: 9. p. 596. l. 22. r. sitting. p. 642. l. 10. r. most
 happily. p. 653. l. penult. r. determining those mentioned,
 or any such like, little difficulties, that he reprov'd their
 superstitious and hypocriticall sollicitude touching them,
 and

and professedly. p. 670. l. ult: r. parts. p. 675. l. 15. r. Father. Pag 696. l: 11. In the Margin add. Sect. 4.

Since my committing to the presse this last part, there has been put into my hands, what a learned man of our Church some few yeares ago has written, a little contrary to what I have mainteined, Had I read it before, my book should have answered the main considerables therein; here I must not take such scope as it requires. Wherefore in a word I professe, I am glad, a man of his reading could find no more to say in the case, and declare my selfe rather confirmed, than shaken, by what ever he produces, which was new to me; and am ready to satisfy the world, whensoever any occasion shall be given me, as to the particular authorities alledged by him; which are few, some of them blind and flighty, the rest boldly used, to say no worse. Could some men (whose ashes were together made such, and hallowed, in the flames of martyrdom) now speak, they would give him no thanks for wounding that Church, which they nursed by their own blood, through their sides; and that by the publication of some immature and opineing Essaies of theirs, for their full advised sentiments. I pray God all his papers and mine may escape such dealing, Pag. 732. l. 11. r. not at all. pag: 776. l: 10. r. *a thing.*

There are diverse other literall faults which I thought not worth troubling the judicious reader with; and perhaps some more materiall ones, which have escaped either my observation, or my memory: As to these, though I have divers more
just

just Apologies, than I could wish I had, yet I shall
only desire all my readers will be pleased to re-
member, whose words those are, *Whatsoever ye would
that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them,*
and neither censure, nor interpret otherwise.



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A C C O U N T
of the CONTENTS.

In the First PART

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before Sermon in Queen Elizabeth's dayes: ne-
ver generally prevailed there till the Troubles
broke out. Its private occasional use observi-
ble*

ble in all ages in an ejaculatory way. Its larger private use since the inspired age, if any where, to be found amongst some of the Religious Orders of the Romanists. Of their Mental prayer. Of Luther's and the Lutheran practice. Sect. 3. Some respect to be had to the present Genius of our Age and Countrey, by a prudential compliance, where the Law (favourably taken) seems to have left some liberty. 4. An account of the Tempers of our people, or those who pretend to be sons of the Church of England. 5. What the Laws of our Church may seem to allow, or permit, as to Conceived prayer in any case. 6. What in prudence may be done without disobedience to the Church. 7. The Conclusion of this Discourse.

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Sect.

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CHAP. IV.

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ing. 9. An humble address to the Parochial Clergy, to endeavour, as far as may be, such Reformation. 10. The Conclusion by way of Submission of all to the judgment of the Church, and earnest exhortation to all Quires, to be of Gods mind, in preferring Devotion to Art.

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Of the Nature of our present Preaching and its Difference from that spoken of in Scripture.

Sect. 1. *D*ifferent judgments *as to the Nature and necessity of the present Preaching.*
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the

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us. 12. *Secondly necessary compliance with*
the temper and expectation of the people. 13.
The summe of all said for necessity of constant
& frequent preaching, and a Transition to what
remains.

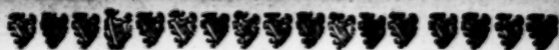
CHAP. IV.

Sect. 1. **T**He last head. *Supposed, that preaching*
is more frequent amongst us than in
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and benefits thereof. 3. *How far it may*
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5. *Strict obleruation of the Lords day keeps*
up the face and aw of Religion amongst our
people, and two sermons on the Lords day,
keep up that strict observation. 6. *Afternoon*
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Puritanism. 7. *It were requisite that in all*
great towns or large parishes there were a ser-
mon

mon *each* Holy day; *how it may easily be done.*
8. *The particular mischiefs consequent upon*
more scarcity of preaching: the first. 9. *The*
second and third. 10. *The fourth.* 11. *The*
misery of the Clergy in such case. 12. *The*
conclusion reflecting on the whole, address both
to Preachers and People.

ADVERTISEMENT.

INstead of further Preface or Epistle to the
Reader, the Reader is desired to peruse
the *Review* in the end of the Third Dis-
course.



REVERENDISSIMIS

IN

CHRISTO
PATRIBUS,

Dominis Præsulibusque Amplissimis,

D. GUILHELMO D. MICHAELI

Archiepiscopo Cantua-
riensi, Totius AN-
GLIÆ Primati &
METROPOLITA-
NO, &c.

Archiepiscopo Dublini-
ensi, HIBERNIÆ
Primati, & summo
ibidem D. Cancellaria-
rio, &c.

Ecclesiarum

Situ (heu! nimio) Diversarum,

Fide Ipsissimarum,

Fulgentissimis STELLIS,

Præsidibus Oculatissimis, Cordatissimis, Meritissimis,

Auspicihus ANGELIS ter maximis;

Tri

Tripartitam hanc (qualem qualem)

De

Charismatis Officiisq; Liturgicis

Commentationem,

Non quòd par sit His vel Patronis vel Lectoribus,

Sed ut insigniori, nec opinando Ambitionis Nisi,

E Tenebris, ipsam alicui Male Pressuris,

Feliciter Asserta,

A Tantis Nominibus Lumen hauriat & Splendorem,

Summo in *Matrem* Ecclesiam Studio & Pietate,

Summâ in Optimos *Patres* Observantiâ & Cultu,

Eâq; demum, qua scripserat Parhrhesiâ,

Ingenuâ, quantumvis Audenti,

V. D. M. Q. C.

Edvardus Wetenball.



OF THE
G I F T
OF
P R A Y E R.

CHAP. I.

Sect. 1. The Introduction, touching the Design of the whole. Sect. 2. That Praying by a Spiritual Gift is expressly mentioned in Scripture, and particularly in the I Cor. XIV. Sect. 3. It is questionable whether the other places of Scripture, usually alledged for this purpose, belong thereto, and most probably they do not. Sect. 4. The Heads of Enquiry in this Discourse. Sect. 5. The first, What that spiritual Gift of Prayer, mentioned in the I Cor. XIV, was. Sect. 6. The second, What the Apostles Rule for the publick management of it, in relation to Matter, Words, and Intention or Devotion. Sect. 7. Of praying in the Holy Ghost, and like Scripture Phrases. Sect. 8. The result of the whole.



T is the peculiar (and we hope *sect. 1.*
the just) praise of the English
Protestant Church, given to
her by the most competent
A Judges,

Judges as well Strangers as Natives, ever since her first regular Establishment, that throughout the whole Reformation, there is nothing so glorious and accomplished as is her publick worship; especially, as managed in Cathedrals and such Places of the better note. There are notwithstanding amongst us, of late years, not a few serious and considerative men (persons of real Piety and worth) whom, the constant use of another way of serving God, ever since they knew what Religion meant, has prejudiced against this; and the confidence of their way being best, has never suffered to look deep enough into the advantages of another. This their confidence has commonly two very plausible, but insufficient, that I say not treacherous supports: a superficial or seeming sense of some passages of Scripture which they at first hastily ran away with, and never since doubted; and the experience and memory of that Devotion or good affection, which that way of worship has excited, and usually renews in them. These men, being (as above supposed) of upright and honest hearts, truly conscientious.

scientious and fearing God, are not to be inveighed against, because they are in some regard adverse; nor to be laughed at, because they have not judged more maturely: (As things went twenty or thirty years ago, considering how many were then in the very *Crisis* of their Education, it is not to be wondered that the Age abounds with men of such sentiments in Religion) Rather it is to be endeavoured, and it ought not to be despaired, that by such fair understanding, which calm and serious reason is apt to beget, they may be won to admire the excellency of what they now unhappily disapprove.

That in our Publick Worship, which such persons bear most uneasily, is the neglect of what they call the *Gift of Prayer*, and the use of what we call *Church Musick*. Exceptions possibly there are against our *preaching*, but those less, and perhaps by persons less considerable: however, the charges against that, are of a different nature from what is objected against these, and shall be considered also by themselves. Our Sermons usually take with them much

better, than either the Liturgy, or the Choral use of it: In both these they think and say, we have laid aside the Primitive pattern. In the one, they complain, we retain nothing of the Apostolical spirit; in the other, we observe not the Apostolical simplicity.

Now we will enter into a free and distinct consultation of each. We will search what is certainly Apostolical, and what the Scripture directs touching each, their management, their immediate ends and design. We will consider the expediency and congruity of all to the present state, the measures which the Church has taken in the several Ages, her perpetual use and practice all along. We will perform the whole with all openness, candour and sincerity, without fear, or favour of our own part, leaving what we do to approve it self to every Readers reason and conscience in the sight of God, and desiring onely to be received with the same unprejudicate mind, with which we have written.

Sec. 2. That the Scripture speaks of *praying* by a certain spiritual *Gift* may not be denied. When

When in any Discourse the argument or subject of it is plainly exprest or propounded in the beginning, if it shall so come to pass, that in process any ambiguous or equivocal terms drop, they may be surely determined or interpreted by the Analogy they have to the common subject treated of. Whereas therefore the Apostle St. Paul in the XII Chapt. of his first to the *Corinthians*, ver. 1. propounds to treat touching spiritual Gifts. (*Now concerning spiritual gifts, Brethren, I would not have you ignorant*) and carries on that Discourse for three Chapters together, as is most evident, when in the XIV. Chapter ver. 15. we read, *I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also.* It is plain, that by *spirit* we are to understand a spiritual Gift (the Metonymy is easie) for of spiritual Gifts the whole Discourse principally proceeds; and forasmuch as he applieth this Gift to Prayer, [*I will pray with (or by) the spirit*] it is certain he affirms a spiritual gift there was, then in the Church, facilitating in the Office of Prayer.

There are sundry other places which *see*. 3.

are conceived by some to belong hereto: as, *Zech. XII 10. I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem the spirit of Grace and supplication.* And in the Epistle of St. Jude, ver. 20. *But ye beloved building up your selves on your most holy faith, praying in the Holy Ghost, keep your selves in the love of God.* And in St. Pauls Epistle to the Ephesians, cha. VI. ver. 18. *Praying allwayes with all prayer and supplication in the spirit.* And especially that of St. Paul to the Romans cha. VIII. ver. 26 *Likewise the spirit helpeth our infirmities: for we know not what we should pray for, as we ought, But the spirit maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered.* But in all these places the context is so farr from enforcing any exposition, which will concern utterance in praier, that the scope of them seemes to restrain them clearly to another thing, as shall be shewn in an other part of this discourse more pertinent to the sense of those **Texts.** There is yet another passage which some have laid great weight on, as being a promise from our Lords own mouth

mouth *Math : X. 19, 20.* When they deliver you up, take no thought, how or what ye shall speak : for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the spirit of your Father that speaketh in you. Hence they would frame an argument, *à fortiori*, thus : Would God assist them to plead at an heathen Tribunal, and not at the throne of Grace ? But the answer is plain. He did undoubtedly assist those, to whom this promise was given at both, and that by the infallible conduct of his spirit : But yet neither is assistance at both here promised, nor doth the promise belong to us, our case, or times, but to those primary and extraordinary Martyrs or Witnesses of Christianity. And being it is designed by our Lord to that particular case of answering for themselves, when arraigned for their Christianity, there is no reason we should extend it to what we list. In those cases it was not them who spoke, but the Holy Ghost in them. Those their apologies or defences being (as Scripture) given by inspiration of God, were of the same authority, with
Scri-

Scripture, and are many of them at this day Scripture. As is St. *Peters*, *Acts* IV, ver: 8 &c. and chap. V, ver. 29. And St. *Stephens*, *Acts* VII: And divers of St. *Pauls*. *Acts* XXII, and again chap. XXIII, and XXIV, ver. 10 &c. and XXVI, ver. 2. &c. Behold in all these (and more instances that might be alleged) the promise verified; and the effect, Defences of infallible verity, as proceeding immediately from the Holy Ghost speaking in the Apologists. But will any man in his wits admit or urge this consequence? Our Lord promised by miraculous inspiration to assist His Apostles, when arraigned before heathen judges for publishing his Gospel, so that they should be able without thought to make defences of themselves and Doctrine, of divine and infallible authority: Therefore in every ordinary case of prayer he will assist all the faithful by the same inspiration. Or will these very persons arrogate thus much to themselves and their own prayers, that they proceed from the same, that is infallible, inspiration? It must, in all charity, be affirmed of them, that they will not.

In the mean time, though these places infer no such thing, yet we have said, *sect: 4* that the Apostle to the *Corinthians* expressly speaks of praying by a certain spiritual Gift, and that the same cannot reasonably be gainsayed, by any who consider his discourse in the Chapters cited. Now touching this *Gift of Prayer* (as it is termed) and the grounds thereof (a case, which hath made more noise and trouble in the *English Church*, than in the whole Christian world) we will inquire, (1.) What is the strict import of the Gift, which the Apostle speaks of in that passage to the *Corinthians*, the onely place which can be proved to belong to this matter. 2. What Rules the Apostle in that discourse laies down for the use or management of that gift? 3. Whether what has been by the late age, or is by this, called the *Gift of praier*, be the same gift, which is there mentioned by the Apostle. 4. If there should be found reason to conclude the spiritual Gift there spoken of to be extraordinary, miraculous, and proper to those times, whether then any Ordinary Gift of prayer, answerable to that Extra-

ordinary one, be of perpetuity in the Church, and a common consequent of a Gracious heart, as some have affirmed.
 5. Whether conceived prayer, or prayer by such an ordinary pretended gift, have in publick, any advantages of prescribed Forms? And lastly, what has been the certain Practice of the Church all along in this case?

In all which weighty Enquiries (for such they are now become) I cannot contain my selfe from a second passionate beseeching, and in the name of God conjuring, all who shall give themselves the pains to peruse this discourse, that they read with the same equanimity and unprejudiced sense with which I write, who, I thank God, ly under no temptation to plead for one kind of prayer more than the other, any further than the meer merit of the cause shall turn the ballance.

As to the first matter of enquiry. *It*
sect. 5. hath been already said and proved, that Praying with the *Spirit* (1 Cor. 14.) signifies praying by a spiritual gift facilitating in that Office: Now the great question will be what is the strict importance

tance of the Spiritual gift there designed ?

In answer thereunto, we will readily allow in the *general*, that it was an Ability to make and utter, anew and upon the sudden, a Prayer suiting to the then present state of Christianity. And for proof hereof we will desire no other evidence (as indeed none that is to be had can be more proper) than what the Apostles own words, taken in their true dependances, and with reference to the design of his discourse, carry in them. And the consideration hereof, besides the proving what we alledgeit for, will lead us to a more *particular*, and indeed the strictest sense of that spiritual Gift there said to be serviceable in Prayer.

It is to be known then, that in those extraordinary dayes, God was pleased to inspire many of the Faithful peculiarly with the gift of divers Tongues. And this variety of Tongues, in men that had not learnt them, was not onely a meanes to propagate the Gospell in Countries remote and of a different language from that of the Jewes, but a signal proof and confirmation of that

Gospell's being from Heaven, Heaven by such a miracle giving witness thereto. This is what we read in the Chapter alledged, ver: 22. *Tongues are for a sign not to them that believe, but to them that believe not.* And the History of the effusion of this miraculous Gift, in several instances, we have in the Acts of the Apostles, Cap: II. and X, ver. 46. and elsewhere. Now of those persons

So Ba- who were inspired with different
fil, Hie- Tongues, some could interpret, others
crom, not; but themselves understood not *Di-*
Chry- *stinely* the mysteries which they utter=
sottom, ed, or the Prayers and Praises which
Theo- they conceived. Thus we read in the
phylact forementioned chapter, ver: 14. *If I*
of the *pary in an unknown Tongue, my spirit pray-*
Anci- *eth*, That is my spiritual gift is exerci=
ents; E- sed in prayer, *but my understanding is*
rasmus, *unfruitful*: not onely am I not under=
Came- stood by others (which some would
ron, have to be the whole, and is part of the
Elli- Apostles meaning) but neither do I di=
Ec. of stinctly understand my own words
the Mo- thus uttered; for if I did, I could inter=
dems: pret (speak those things in my own
Mother Tongue) which yet it is plain
many

many of them then could not, ver. 13. Having thus asserted the unprofitableness of *praying* by the Spirit when they understood not, he proceeds, in the Fifteenth verse, as to consultation. *What is it then? I will pray with the Spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also:* that is, By this inspired gift of Tongues would I be able to utter Prayers, but so, that I understood distinctly what I uttered, and were not *as things without life, giving sound, as pipes, or harps, or trumpets*, and like instruments, ver. 7, 8. *Praying in (or by) the spirit* then, in the Apostles sense (or the spiritual gift there spoken of) signifies an inspired faculty of uttering a new Prayer, and that sometimes even in strange and different Tongues. This is acknowledged by several modern Interpreters of good note; *Spiritu*, i. e. *Lingua peregrina quam mihi dicat spiritus*. Beza in Cor. *Spiritus, Voce singulare linguarum donum significans*, Cal. Instit. lib. 3. c. 20. sect. 33. So Diodate and others, whose judgements they, that most admire what they call the gift of Prayer, will not condemn. The summe

then of the case there handled, and the Apostles resolution thereupon, is this.

The *Corinthians* were many of them zealous Affecters of those miraculous gifts then frequent amongst them : but particularly and above the rest of this prodigious gift of Tongues. Our Apostle doth not go about directly to repress or check this their Zeal, but to guide and conduct it into a right channel ; shewing them chap. *XIII*, that Charity is much a worthier object of the most passionate Zeal, than any spiritual Gift : and in this *XIV* Chapter, that if yet they will affect spiritual Gifts, they ought to be most zealous of those which conduce most to edification. To this purpose he compares the gift of Tongues whereof they were so eager and fond, with other spiritual gifts of a more edifying nature; namely, with prophesying (or expounding the Scriptures of the Old Testament, the new one not being then extant) and with interpreting of tongues, and yet by no meanes undervaluing even that their admired Gift of Tongues : whereof therefore he sets down the usefullness in two points..

First

First in regard of private edification, ver. 4. *He that speaketh in an unknown tongue edifieth himself.* And, Secondly, in order to the conversion of infidels. ver: 22. *Tongues are a sign:* a verification of old prophecies (such as *Isai: XXV/III, 11.* cited by our Apostle ver: 21. and that of *Joel II, 28.* cited by St. Peter, *Acts II, ver. 16.*) to convert the Jewes, who received those prophecies, but yet believed not the Gospel; and a supernatural effect or miracle for the perswading the Heathen world of the Divinity of Christian Doctrine. But together that the justice of his comparison might appear, he sets down also the comparative uselesse of this gift in two other points, the former of more private concernment: The mans own understanding many times was unfruitful. ver. 14: the latter of a larger extent, others (already converted) understood not those tongues, were not commonly edified ver. 5, 6. &c. and could not to such praises say Amen, ver. 16. Wherefore this Gift of tongues was not so excellent, that is so usefull to the Church as prophesying, or interpreting

ting of tongues, no not if applied to this special office of prayer, wherein all ought to beare a part, at least by their *Amen* or consent, which how could they give to what they did not understand?

Upon the whole consultation the text is the result, as is evident by the very manner of speaking, or the initial Formulary. *What is it then?* In other words, what shall we determine in this case? To which it is returned by way of resolve. *I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also,* and with the understanding both of my selfe and of them who hear me. ver: 2, 9, 16, 19. In other terms: *I* account the faculty or gift of uttering an inspired prayer for the service of the Church in the publique worship of God, to be desirable and of excellent use in the Church; yea even those prayers, which are inspired in or under unknown tongues, to be a miraculous proof of the Gospell. But all these prayers, when used in publick, ought to be so uttered, and in such a language, as that they may be publickly understood: Else, so farre
forth

Nec enim dicimus
linguam a-
lo'eo
Bera.

forth as they are not understood, so far forth are they uselesse to the Church, any otherwise than as miracles. By this account it is plain both what this spiritual Gift was, and that it was such as we have above determined.

To proceed therefore now to the consideration of the Rule given by the *sect. 6.* Apostle for the publick management of this gift. *Προσεύχομαι τῷ πνεύματι, προσεύχομαι ὡς τῷ νοῖ.* The searching the distinct and full import of these words [*I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also*] will make out the summe and particulars of the Apostles Rule.

The summe is: Gifts indeed are not to be despised or neglected? But above all gifts, above all dexterity, neatness, copiousness, nay above all miracles of Language (for of such gifts there spoke he) we ought to be solicitous, even in our publick prayers, that our minds and hearts be all along distinctly intent and employed. Words, though inspired ones, are of little virtue or worth without the concurrence and ingagement of the mind. Indeed the designe of words

in prayer, as to God-wards (who understands our thoughts without any exteriour indications of them) is but to fix the Soul, to give distincter form and maturity to its acts, and to keep it staid to the particulars of its devotions. They are but the Vehicles of the souls breathings and Transports. By them our minds do *elabi sursum ac evolare*, glide forth and soar aloft to that God, whom the infinite tendencies of soules, rather than pittiful limited sounds, which dy with our breath, can reach and move. Wherefore, though they are to be used (both upon account of the reasons mentioned, and Divine command) yet all speech, all gifts or faculty thereof, are so far onely valuable & useful, as they serve to engage the mind in affection and duty to God.

To reduce this into distincter members. First, it is considerable that the Apostle no wise undervalues or teacheth to neglect the spiritual gift, which was then so miraculously frequent amongst them: which because it was onely (*χάρισμα* . and not *χάρις*) a Gift and not a Grace, cannot be supposed to have been otherwise serviceable to them in prayer,

prayer, than as it suggested the matter and words of the prayer. These we will conclude them to have had by present inspiration; which in that he directs them, who were thus extraordinarily inspired to imploy, resolving and determining, *I will pray with the Spirit*, this part of his rule can be no further of concernment to us, who have not this extraordinary inspiration, than as it is applicable to what in our ordinary state has succeeded such inspiration. And then all it can impose on us is this, that we use those ordinary abilities we have (analogous to their extraordinary ones) in provision of prayers befitting our state, that is, made up of meet matter and meet words, which was all which their inspired faculty did supply. We must conceive, God has never been wanting in his provisions for his Church. When under the law he required sacrifices, and the great pomp of a ceremonial worship, he inspired Moses and David and Asaph and other holy men to furnish his Church with suitable devotionalls, prayers and hymnes pertinent to that state. When

under the Gospell the state of things was changed, and he now without those shadows required the sacrifice of faithful and pure hearts, he haveing first accepted the immaculate sacrifice of his onely Son upon the Crosse, by the sweet savour whereof all our sacrifices both of hearts and devotions must become acceptable, he I say, forasmuch as it was necessary there should be publick prayers proper also for this state, inspired the primitive Christian Saints with such abilities, by which they conceived prayers meet to their worship. And the same spirit rests still in the Church; onely the manner of its communication is diverse. What they had by extraordinary inspiration, we have by more ordinary meanes and methods, of which we shall speak hereafter. Whentherefore he wills, that those inspired persons *Pray with the spirit*, that is, make use of their inspiration in prayer, by parity of reason, I say, he requires, we, in our state, imploy our Christian prudence, care and skill, that our prayers be meet and pertinent to the present condition of the Church & of
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our selves. And that, as above intimated,

First, as to the matter of them. We are not presently to vent, what first offers it selfe to our ranging phansy. Things ought to be examined, and choice made, and care taken, that in our confessions we charge not on our selves sins, which we do not think our selves guilty of: that again in our petitions we neither ask things unlawful, nor indecent, nor for ill ends to *spend on our lust*: that finally in our doxologies, and all addressies of invocation, admiration, praise, or vow to God, we ascribe not or promise to him things unbecomeing his pure nature and glorious Majesty. The very law of nature as well as Holy writt, requires thus much. *Eccle. V. 2. Be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thine heart be hasty to utter any thing before God (which he presseth by naturall reason) For God is in heaven and thou on earth.*

And secondarily, even as to words and expressions, none can conceive, but Christian prudence and care is to be used; for as much as it is certain, the mind closely follows the words and

conceives and understands things by them. It must needs therefore be, that irreverent, absurd or uncomely expressions lead aside or disturb true devotion. The Holy Ghost, in setting down an order for Israels repentance, condescends to a strange particularity in this regard, Hose. XIV. 1, 2. *O Israel return unto the Lord; for thou hast fallen by thine iniquities. Take with you words, and turne to the Lord : say unto him, Take away our iniquity, and receive us graciously. &c.* And that Great and wise Saint, Job, (ranked by God himselfe amongst the three mighties in prayer) speakes of it, even in his case, as a matter of dreadfull difficulty (which sure then in usought to engage some care & thought) *to choose out words to plead with God.* Job: IX. 14. I will therefore onely adde, that what ever interest or Familiarity any man can conceive himself to have with God, loose and carelesse language in Prayer, must needs bespeak a certain want of the fear of God in him, who uses it; and most especially in Publick, where every expression may be presumed to have an in-

Ezek:
XIV¹⁴,
20,

influence on many hearts, either to quicken or infect them.

Thus then stands the first member of the Apostles rule ; that, whereas the Corinthians had an immediate inspiration then assisting many of them in prayer, they should not neglect it: which can concern our times, and state no otherwise than thus ; that, whereas we have onely Christian prudence and usual utterance, which are the gift (though but common gift) of Gods spirit, we neglect not the use of these, in providing, according to our ability, that our prayers be meet and fit, both in matter and form. I doe not see how any thing more can reasonably be infered hence:

The other branch of his rule is this, that all gifts, which are exercised in publick prayers, ought to be so regulated or managed, as that the prayers, made thereby, be understood, both by the person that presents them, and the congregation of Auditors, who are to joyne therein. This is clearly his sense, *I will pray with the spirit,* (as before said) *but I will pray with the understanding also,* the point we now urge. He allowes
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that even the very gift of strange tongues, (for of that gift particularly as we have seen he speaks) might be used in prayers but first, by such who understood it themselves, that so while their spirit prayed, their understanding might not be unfruitfull V: 14. And, secondly, if amongst the unlearned, then with interpretation, that so, *they who occupied the room of the unlearned might say Amen.* V. 16. They were to use the gift of tongues, that the benefit of a new miracle might redound to the propagating or confirming the believe of Christianity; but they were to interpret, that the prayers, which they conceived, might not be of their private spirit, but being understood by all, ingage distinctly the devotion of the whole Church. And the necessity of this later is most evident. For, how is it possible the mind can go along with, consent to, and be distinctly affected with, what it does not understand? Can any man, that resolves to speak reason or sense, call the muttering over of words, which he does not understand, a reasonable service? This is a strange wor-
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worshipping God in spirit and in truth, to pay him such a service, which cannot possibly have any truth in it, that is any conformity of my mind with my words, because I understand them not ; nay , concerning which I do not know whether it be an act of Worship or of Blasphemy , *whether I bless or curse.*

The consideration of this , I confess, creates in me not a little wonder at those of the Romish Church ; that against all Scripture, reason, truth of History, nay even against common sense , they should magnifie, maintain and practice (even after these miraculous gifts have long ceased) Prayer in an unknown Tongue : and this in a manner constantly and in their most solemn and serious Offices. That their common Priests amongst us should affirm , that no Christian Nation before the Reformation used to have the publick Service in any but the Latine Tongue , I do not at all admire , because I am satisfied by sufficient experience, that many of them do not understand what is Latine and what not, (Hebrew or Greek words , when writ in a Latine Character , are

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suffi.

sufficiently Latine with them : and this, as to many passages in their Offices they will face us down in, before their credulous people, and call us ignorant, because we know better) But that any of them who pretend to Learning and Education should say so, I cannot but stand amazed ; when even their own Breviaries, their Ritual, nay the very Canon of the Mass it self have all along not onely several Hebrew and Greek words, but some passages intirely without variation taken out of the old Greek Liturgies (and therefore must needs suppose them in being before themselves) and besides several Greek Liturgies, which certainly were once in use, have we not to this day extant the Liturgy of the Church of *Alexandria*, of the *Æthiopick* & *Armenian* Churches, & many others which perhaps I never heard of ?

But to let these Gentlemen pass : while we reprehend Adversaries, it is necessary we be just and constant to our selves. I must needs confess, amongst those who call themselves Protestants and Reformed, and who would be thought to be of us, since there have been

been so many pretenders to the Gift of prayer, they have made this sacred Office of prayer, as they perform it, very unintelligible : if they do *pray with the spirit*, so; I am sure they do not *pray with the understanding*, at least of those who hear them. I must avow, I cannot understand Non-sense, nor distinctly comprehend mens meaning in broken sense, or their blundering confused aiming at sense : and I could wish, that most of the prayers of the gifted men were not too often fraught herewith. I am well assured also, that most of the common people do not understand terms of art, nor new and affected words and phrases, and so that they cannot to one half of such mens prayers say *Amen*. I might also say, that by their frequent expletives, by their often being at a loss, by their undigested and inconsistent expressions, their uttering at a peradventure what comes next; it is evident, that they themselves many times do not distinctly understand, what they would have. If therefore we will keep to this member of the Apostles Rule, it is plain we can no more justifie such prayers as these,

than the former practice which we have reprehended, & which even these men themselves do reprehend, in our Elder Adversaries of *Rome*.

There may be yet conceived a third branch in this the Apostles rule, though indeed it may rather seem a consectary from what he saies, than matter of his plain design. For the discovery whereof it is to be considered that though the Greek word *νόος*, which is in this place rendred *understanding*, principally denote the intellectual part of the soul, yet it is commonly used, both in sacred and prophane authors, for the purpose, sentence, resolution or desire of the mind, yea in a word for the whole rational part, or any act and intention, thereof. Thus in *Homer*, *Νόος ἦν ἔκκα μιννα* *ὄφ' ὅτι* signifies the inclination and maine bent of his mind. And any thing is said *κατα' νόον*, when it is as we would have it. Besides there is no reason assignable, why the Apostle should require, that men pray with the understanding, but because that being the leading part of the soul, draws the will & unites all the powers of the soul upon God

God. *To pray then with the mind* (as the word imports or may infer) will be to pray with real *intention* and all good affection, in the language of Scripture, to pray *with all our heart, with all our Soul, and with all our Strength*. And when the Apostle resolves, we ought so to pray with the spirit that we pray also *with the mind*, he would that all spiritual gifts, serviceable in prayer, be so managed, as that the prayers made thereby be not onely comprehended by the understanding, but also may make impression upon the will and affections, and draw and imploy the whole Soul God-wards, by the exercise of all those Christian graces which are proper to the respective parts of prayer. I do not say this was directly intended here by *St. Paul*; but it is fairly enough deducible from what he did directly intend, and from his expresse terms.

And this is truly what the Scripture *S. d. 7* means, *by praying in the Holy Ghost*, or *Jude's* *prayer and supplication in the spirit*, *20.* and like phrases: when the whole soul *Eph. 6* being attent to every part of the duty *18.*

and seriously intending and being bent on the matters exprest, is affected suitably to the nature of each; confessing sins with sorrow & contrition for them, with hatred of them, with resolution against them; and with the same temper most passionately begging pardon and grace, and together being resolved to endeavour by all meet means to obtain & await the graces petitioned for; again, interceding for others with iervent charity and good will. That this is the genuin sense thereof cannot more fitly be proved, than by considering, in the first place, what the *Spirit of prayer*, which was promised, was. The promise we have most largely and perspicuously in *Zech: XII, 10. I will pour upon the House of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of Grace of supplications; & they shall look upon me whom they have peirced & they shall mourne for him as one mourneth for an onely Son; & shall be in bitterness for him, as one that is in bitterness for an onely Son.* Nothing can be more plain by the very letter of a Text, than that the Blessing here promised was a complication of the graces
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of Gods spirit, contrition, faith divine love, and whatever else makes up the ardent devotion of a penitent heart; rather than any gifts of utterance, none of which haply would suffice for the expressing such passionate effusion of affection, as is in the context represented. It is in direct terms first styled the *spirit of grace*, a penitent, affectionate, broken heart, and by being such, a *spirit of supplications*, plurally, that temper being lowder in the eares of God, than all vocal prayers; of which we have a famous instance (*I. Sam. I. 10, 13*) in the case of *Hannah*. And if that passage of *St. Paul, Rom. VIII 26*, be to be understood (as some would have it) touching such an inward assistance of the Holy Ghost, as all the faithfull may expect in prayer, it must certainly be interpreted in proportion to this prophesy. He had said (*ver : 24, 25*) That under all their pressures and groanes it was *Hope* that supported them; and that by working them to patience: upon which immediately he proceeds (*ver : 26*) *Likewise the spirit also helpeth our infirmities*; when our very hopes are weake

weake and languishing, we receive a secret supply of comfort from the Holy Ghost wonderfully affecting our hearts, and by that meanes supporting us. *For we know not what to pray for as we ought.* In these *deliquia*, or fainting fits, we are many times at a losse, whether we ought to ask the removall of our calamities, or no. *But the Spirit it self maketh intercession for us with groanes, which cannot be uttered.* The same Holy Ghost, in these straits, works our minds to such ineffable heights of Devotion, and casting our selves upon God, as do undoubtedly prevail with God to give us what is best, though we neither positively aske the one nor the other, but refer the whole to the gracious pleasure of our heavenly Father.

This is I profess as naturally as I can represent it (to make the verse any way consistent with the Apostles discourse) the sense of that verse, takeing it even of the spirit inwardly assisting the faithfull in prayer: though it seemes rather to be meant of the spirit dwelling in Christ, *who sits at the right hand of God making intercession for us, for*
which

which I could alledge severall reasons, were it to the present designe. Upon the whole then, takeing this verse, even in favour of our adversaries, the Apostle expressly affirms, that the great assistance, which we receive from the Holy Ghost in prayer, is, its *makeing intercession for us with groanes which cannot be uttered*; referring the assistance to inward devotion wrought by the Holy Ghost, and too great for the utterance of words, and not to any gifts of utterance or expressions.

Having thus considered what the *spirit of prayer* is, in the sense of Scripture, and what the great assistance which the Faithful may expect in prayer from the spirit, for further proof that the notion above given is the fittest, which can be put on those phrases of *praying in the Holy Ghost, and prayer in the spirit*, let the places where they are found be lookt over with regard to the connexion and design of each. In *Ephes. VI.* from ver. 10, to the 17. (inclusively) the Apostle conjures his Ephesians, considering the variety of dangers and difficulties in their Christian warfare (set down cer:

12) that they should endeavour all courage and constancy ; and to that purpose *Arme* , or endeavour to confirm , themselves by the *Truth* , and a *righteous* or holy life (ver: 14) by *Charity, Faith, and Hope* (ver: 15 , 16 , 17) *Praying alwaies with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit , and watching thereunto with all perseverance :* in other & shorter terms, praying with all fervour and constancy; or with the exercise of all those **Christian** graces, and as men inspirited with supernatural devotion. And if that passage of St. *Jude* has any thing in it peculiar and distinct from this sense, it is onely [with relation to the publick assemblies , and prayer therein. He had warned the faithfull (ver: 19) of those who separated themselves, sensual men , having not the spirit [brutish persons , void of grace or any principle of a new life] But (ver: 20.) *ye beloved, building up your selves on your most holy faith , praying in the Holy Ghost, keep your selves in the love of God.* [In stead of separating , frequent the publick assemblies , for your daily growth in grace, and joyn there

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in prayer with all zeal and ardour of mind, thus keeping your selves in the favour and under the blessing of God in communion with his Church.] What any inspired gifts of utterance, supposed in the community of the faithful, have here to do (the publick and promiscuous exercise of which possibly might rather tend to schism and separation) it is not easy to conceive.

The result then, or the whole that can be reasonably concluded, from all the places, which we have yet considered, is, That there were, in the miraculous state of the Christian Church, certain extraordinary gifts of utterance, particularly that of divers Tongues; that this was then used, and under some cautions useful, even in the Office of Prayer: that both then and ever the Holy Spirit of God, in a peculiar sort under the Gospel, sweetly moves, softens and quickens the hearts of the Faithful, as in other cases, so especially in prayer: that herein it raises in them greater fervour of love and good affection than naturally could be had or expected: that in all kind of Prayer the Faithful ought to endeavour

sect. 8.

the exercise of the graces of Gods Spirit;
And that finally, all publick Prayers are
to be fitted, in the best manner that may
be, to the general capacity and devotion
of the Christian community.

C H A P. II.

Sect. 1. The third point of Enquiry. That, which hath been of late named the Gift of Prayer, is not the same with the Spiritual Gift spoken of by the Apostle.

Sect. 2. The fourth Enquiry, touching an Ordinary Gift of Prayer, supposed to succeed the Extraordinary one, and to be of perpetuity in the Church.

Sect. 3. What sober notion can be framed thereof.

Sect. 4. A judgment of it in such notion.

Sect. 5. That this Gift in this notion, as to the Essence of it, was no more appropriate to Prayer than to other

like Christian Offices.

Sect. 6. How far its use reasonable or tolerable at present.

Sect. 1. **T**HE third point of Enquiry will take up less time for satisfaction: namely, Whether what has been by the late

late Age named, and is now called usually, the *Gift of prayer*, be the same with that spiritual Gift spoken of in the place aforementioned?

For answer whereto, though it might seem requisite some definition or description should first be given of this pretended Gift, yet I presume it for the present purpose sufficiently known by its name, and proceeding directly to the Question answer it in the Negative, that the Faculty called the *Gift of prayer*, and pretended to by those, who quarrel'd and withdrew from the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, was not at all the gift designed by *S. Paul* in *1 Cor. XIV, 15.* the only place which yet I can find to speak of praying by a spiritual gift.

For, First, it is plain by the account already given of that place, that the Gift there spoken of was the gift of Tongues. In the first Chapter, we read the Corinthian Church to have been *enriched in all utterance and knowledge.* This gift of Tongues was a particular *species* or kind of the Gift of utterance: but yet as particular as it was, it was no more appropriate to the Office

*1 Cor.
1. 5.*

of *prayer*, than to that of *singing* : for it follows in that very place, *I will pray with the spirit, &c. I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also.* And no more to either of these, than to the Office of *preaching* or *speaking mysteries*. For, *ver. 2. He that speaketh in an unknown tongue, in the spirit speaketh mysteries; or, ver. 6. He speaketh either by revelation, or by knowledge, or by prophesying, or by doctrine* : And again, *ver. 26, He hath a psalm, hath a doctrine, &c.* Now it is certain, or will be confest, that this gift of Tongues was not the thing pretended to in the Gift of prayer.

Again, it is acknowledged by all, that the Gift there spoken of was extraordinary and miraculous: and this destroyes the very pretense of those touching whom we speak. For though haply they would be content to be admired for their gift of prayer (and it may be some do really admire many of them after a fashion) yet was not this Gift pretended any miracle, but an usual consequent (at least in some measure) of grace, though sometimes incident even unto

unto reprobates also, and so more ordinary than a gracious heart it self.

But it will be demanded then, is *sect. 2.* there not some *Ordinary* Gift of prayer, answerable to that *Extraordinary* one there spoken of, which was to be of perpetuity in the Church, and may be expected from the Holy Ghost by all the Faithfull, as being a common fruit of Conversion?

This is the fourth point of the propounded inquiry. And in answer hereunto, that terms may not involve us in obscurity, I must forbear no longer to set down as inoffensively as I can, what can be the sober meaning of the Gift of prayer.

Now as to those who meant any thing *sect. 3.* sober and intelligible thereby, I conceive their meaning in ordinary language may be thus exprest. This gift they supposed to be a *faculty*, infused by the Holy Ghost, consisting of *quickness of thought and readines of speech*, both particularly applied to the business of prayer. And this they would have reckoned amongst what they call the Common gifts of the spirit; because, though all are by then
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supposed to have it in some measure who are truly converted and in whom the spirit dwells, yet many may receive from the spirit of God this and such like gifts (and in a greater measure too than some of their converts) who yet are void of the sincere and choice grace of Gods spirit : as *Judas* may be conceived to have been indowed with spirituall Gifts qualifying him for his Apostleship and ministry, and yet still a reprobate, and farr from haveing an holy heart. This is, as distinctly as I can apprehend it, and as impartially as I can set it down, the sense of this pretended Gift. I call it a *pretended gift*, not but that I acknowledge such abilities, wherever they are, to come from the spirit of God in a common way ; but I cannot admitt either that every faithfull man must expect such gifts so to be infused into him by the spirit, or that he must not be accounted faithfull, if he want them, or finally that such Gifts are more peculiar to the present and Christian state of the Church, than to any other former estate thereof whatsoever.

Now I humbly beseech all who shall
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take the pains to read this, not to be offended with what I have said, or am now about to say for the bringing people to a clear understanding & a sober judgment in this matter. Let us be content to consider the case like men of reason, and in words of truth and plainnesse.

Suppose then I should tell the world that there is an Heathen art called *Rhetorick*, and that there have been many naturall men of excellent abilities this way, as *Aristotle*, *Cicero*, *Quintilian*, *Hermogenes*, and many other masters, who have long since written bookes of this art, teaching men to speake readily on any subject upon a sudden, & that this has been known commonly amongst the heathen to have been effected in a most copious and eminent sort, exceeding farr what most (if not all) our pretenders to Gifts have attained to; Must not this be allowed to be truth? Suppose these men, long since dead, who never heard of Christ, or his spirit, or the gift thereof, could now heare us talke of Quickness of thought, and Readiness of speech, as parts of a supposed Gift of prayer, might not they

Sect. 4.

presently stand up and lay claim to this gift? Nay and not onely so, but that they taught it, and have left admirable precepts for it; and that these two are neither better nor worse, than the result of two parts of *Rhetorick* (according to their doctrine) the names whereof are Notorious, *Inventio & Elocutio*.

Suppose I say further, that as the Philosopher hath observed that there is a Natural kind of Logick, which even unlearned men have, by which they reason and draw notable shrewd consequences (which our Neighbours very fitly call *Mother-wit*) so there is a natural kind of *Rhetorick* (some men naturally are more quick both in thought and speech than others) must not this also be confessed as a truth?

I will onely add one thing more, that there is a kind of *unartificial education* and *institution*. When men *converse* much with persons, who are expert in art, and hear them frequently discourse of, and practise in, that art, if they have any *natural parts* themselves, they learn something from them, and setting themselves to *imitate* them, and *practise* by the

the *rules*, they have had given them, they are presently able to do some little feats in that art themselves. Now, is there any thing strange in all this? Is not this what was known and taught in the Heathen World, long before the gift of prayer was thought of in the Christian, that all Arts and Sciences are attained *Naturâ, præceptis & usu*, by mens *natural parts* upon *institution* and *practices*? I would fain hear of any, who attained the gift of prayer any otherwise than thus. Those who have been the suddenest Proficients, that I have heard of (I forbear any instances which look like odious) have, to my knowledge, had persons, of great eminency in this way, labouring with them many dayes together, giving them methods (such as they were) and instructions for the use of them, putting words into their mouth, practising before them, setting them to practise themselves. And these things being notoriously known, what man, that has not sold himself to whimsies, and given up his reason to extravagant imaginations, can conceive or suppose in this case any infusion of a *spiritual gift*, or

must not rather acknowledge a *common habit* naturally acquired (I mean by usual and proper means) the like to which in any other case (*ceteris paribus*) may be had at any time; and in which there is no reason to conceive any other than a general influence and concourse of the Holy Ghost, such as in other matters accompanies mens exercise and industry.

Now upon the whole I demand, is it reasonable to take a piece of an ordinary art, famous even amongst Heathens, and applying it to a particular Christian Office, to wit that of *prayer*, to disguise it by a new Christian name; and calling it the *Gift of prayer*, to make it presently a Fruit and sign of grace? If it had been onely said, that even Ordinary Oratory is a gift of the Spirit, it must have been acknowledged a truth; for so are all arts and sciences, not onely Liberal but even Mechanical (so was Embroidery Engraving in *Aboliab & Bezaleel*, *Exod: XXXV, 31, 35*; spinstry in the Women *ver: 25, 26*; Architecture in *David* 1. *Chron: XXVIII, 11 12*) But if men will pretend to have received this as a gift, by a sudden and more than usual in-

inspiration, and not to have come thereby, upon their natural parts, by heareing or reading discourses thereof, by heareing it practiced, by practicing therein themselves, they abuse the world and themselves. And if they will make such things as these signes or fruits of grace, they are signes truly what the grace in them is, but somewhat unluckily: they shew indeed, that though they may be good meaning men in this, and in other regards upright and sound, yet they are in spiritual matters marvellously whimsicall, unreasonable and halflighted; they distinguish not betwixt *Grace, Nature and Art.*

sect: 5.

I may presume what has been said is sufficient to take off the pretence of any supernatural infused Gift, in this case ordinarily received, or to be expected by the faithfull. Now to shew, for a more full satisfaction to the enquiry in hand, that this *Gift*, as they call it, was, as to its *Essentiall* parts, no more appropriate to prayer than to other Christian offices of like nature, I shall onely urge the Experience of that age, by giving in short the General

history of the Proceſſs of this Gift. After the great letters up hereof had imparted this their gift of prayer to the people, that is, taught them to pray by the ſpirit or in the conceived way, did not thoſe very people preſently, by virtue of this their gift, that is, this readineſs of thought and ſpeech, begin to expound ſcripture and to ſpeak in their aſſemblies, as they call'd it? Was not this the way of proceeding? Firſt they learnt to pray by gift: then haveing exerciſed this gift in private families, they begun to repeat their leaders ſermons, and by little & little imitate them, as they had done their prayers. Then they took upon them to exhort and inſtruct private families, that is, they practiſed in private, and thence proceeded to ſpeak in publick, trying firſt how they could come off in their way of prayer publickly; in which haveing ſucceded they ſtuck at nothing. Can it be pretended that the Gift was different in one and the other exerciſe? Was it not the ſame faculty that qualified them for both? And has not this, or worſe been, the education and in a
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manner sole erudition of many of them, who practice the ministry amongst those congregations, that withdraw from our Church. I have not written these things to vilify or cast a blemish upon masters of Families instructing, Catechising, examining their children and servants on Lords daies and due times, nor upon their daily worshipping God by sober prayers in their Families, which I look upon as every such Christian mans duty, according to his ability and within his proper sphere; but onely to lay open, fairly and candidly, those artifices by which many pragmaticall men, not without the instigation of the Spirit of Pride, have deluded themselves and others into a conceipt of I know not what gifts of the spirit, when God knows all was common and ordinary enough. And this, I say, is a most evident demonstration that this Gift, as to its essence, is no more appropriate to *Prayer* than *Preaching*, because it capacitated these, who could pretend to nothing but gift, for both: and is, if we call it by its true name, no more than Habit of speech, a naturall and somewhat unartificial kind of Oratory.

But

sect. 6. But it will be said, allowing what we call the Gift of prayer to be nothing else but an Habit of speech, attainable by such means as has been said, yet may not we use this Habit of speech in prayer so, as to conceive our prayers our selves in our own words?

I answer hereunto, Who doubts but we may? Provided, we *acknowledge* this Habit to be what it is, and *use* it according to the *Laws of God*, with reverence to the Majesty of God, and care we speak not unadvisedly of him or to him; according to the *Lawes of the Church*, with sobriety, modesty, peaceableness and order, so, as to edifie our selves thereby in private, and not to disturb or divide the Church by bringing thereby the publick and stated order into disesteem: and finally with justice to our selves and the Common Christianity, so, as not to make this the sole way of praying in a due or Christian sort, & by a disuse of any other to incapacitate our own or our Admirers devotions for the other, & make both our selves & them uncharitably censorious of all Forms of Prayer, and those who use them, that is
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of the whole Catholick Church, except our selves and our new (comparatively) inconsiderable party.

CHAP. III.

Sect. 1. The fifth point of enquiry, touching any advantage of prayer by Gift above prayer by Form. Sect. 2. Edification the great measure by which we are to estimate all advantage in this concern. Sect. 3. What edification truly means. Sect. 4. A frequent mistake amongst persons of honest intention about it. Sect. 5. That may conduce to private edification, which does not to publick. Sect. 6. The advantages of Conceiv'd prayer impartially set down. Sect. 7. The inconveniencies of it. Sect. 8. The advantages of prayer by Form. Sect. 9. The inconveniencies of it. Sect. 10. A judgment upon the whole. Sect. 11. A removal of some pretences against the efficacy of Forms.

HAVING allowed, under the cautions *Sect. 11.*
before set down, some arbitrary
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use of such supposed Habit of speech in prayer as spoken of, it will be but reasonable, and consonant to that Freedom, candour and openness, which I in the beginning promised in this Discourse, to enquire further, Whether it were not more expedient, that the use of *Conceived* prayer in publick, were enjoined, or at least allowed and practised, than that of *prescribed* Forms, by reason of the great advantage conceived prayer may be found or imagined to have, above any Formes whatsoever.

And*for satisfaction hereto, I shall impartially consider the advantages of both kinds, and having compared both, I do not doubt but we shall find our Church, like her in the Gospel, to have *chosen the better part, and which* I hope *shall never again be taken from her.*

Now to make the way more plain to a full and distinct satisfaction, I think it fit to premise three things,

sect. 2. First, That conduency to Edification is the onely measure, by which all advantages, conveniencies or profit are to be estimated in this case. If this need any

any proof, greater cannot be required, than that it is made by the Apostle, in the same chapter which has hitherto been so serviceable to us, the great standard, according to which the Excellency of all *Gifts and Offices* in the publick Worship are to be examined. *Let all things be done unto edification.* The matter, there mainly taxt amongst them, was the use of spiritual Gifts, more to pomp and ostentation than a general good. *How is it then brethren? When ye come together, every one of you hath a Psalm, hath a Doctrine, hath a Tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation.* Each glories in adventures of his own Gifts, and through affectation, or under pretence of improving each himself, instead of consulting publick edification; you introduce publick confusion. Upon which immediately follows the passage now mentioned, *Let all things be done unto edification.* No exercise of Gifts in the Christian Assemblies is to be allowed, which conduces not to the common edification. So much then as either of these sorts of prayer edifies more than the other, so much of advantage

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hath it of the other;

sect. 3. Secondly, it is necessary we take some account what is the real and true import of this term Edification: for it is to be acknowledged, *Edifying* is a term which the people much use, and little understand. It properly signifies *Building*, as we know; and is onely Metaphorically spoken of the soul, to signifie any advance, improvement or betterment of it in matters spiritual: and there being but two Faculties of the reasonable soul, capable of perfective habits or dispositions, namely, the *understanding* and the *will*, we may soon take an account particularly, what can be the utmost notion or extent of *Edification*, when applied to spirituals. The Understanding is edified, when it is further informed or instructed in the knowledge of some matter of worth or concernment. Thus Edification signifies improvement in knowledge or (which is resolvable into the same) recovery of what was forgotten. The Will is edified, when it is drawn either to the love and practice of some Duty before neglected, or to the detestation and abandoning some sin before adhered

adhered to. Thus Edification signifies improvement in holiness or good resolution. In summe and most plainly ; a man is then edified when he is made any whit the *wiser* or the *better*. and beyond this Edification is onely a Chimera, or well meaning mistake.

I do acknowledge the warmth of affection under holy Offices, the motion of Transient remorse and sorrow, fears, hopes, and joys, have been; and to this day are, mistaken by many honest (though weaker) persons for the greatest if not the onely Edification. When they have found their affections a little moved, perhaps to such pitch as that a tear has dropt, they have esteemed themselves singularly edified. Now though it must be allowed commendable and happy, in general, to pray and hear with such tenderness of heart, yet it is a great and may be a very fatal error, to take such passions for the graces of Gods spirit, or the motion thereof for solid and serious Edification. *Felix* we read *trembled* at *St. Paul's* preaching, yet had not therefore a jot more of the *fear* of God in him. They who are

resembled to the stony ground *heard the word and anon with joy received it*, but were notwithstanding as fruitless in effect, as they on the high way, who admitted or regarded it not at all. And we know, how shallow some mens passions ly, how soon they are come at, how easily stirred, and to how little purpose. St. *Austins* confession of his concernment even to tears for *Dido* in the Poeme, which he knew to be onely a Fable, is notorious: and every daies experience of effects of the like nature, upon occasions which I will not name, shewes, that to be moved with pathetick subjects and harangues is as common and natural, as it is usually fruitless. The utermost that is to be determined in the behalfe of these sensible commotions I conceive is, First, That if while a mans mind is really intent and seriously engaged in devotion, the more sensitive soule shall at that time conspire therewith in suitable affections, such devotions are a great deal more comfortable to the performer, and he may be sure acceptable to God; it is an argument we serve God in such case with our whole man, according to that

that of *David*, *my heart and my flesh* ^{Psal}
rejoyceth in the living God. ^{lxxx.}

And, secondly, that these little parox-^{2.}
ysms of pious affections, even when
comeing upon us more unawares,
by their frequent returns or more
lasting impressions, which sometimes
they may make on the soul, may
serve, as previous dispositions, to
prepare the Soul to the hatred of sin,
to the love of God, to a serious tem-
per, and steddy resolution of duty.
But where they uncertainly come and
go, where they neither proceed from a
mind so imployed and engaged, as be-
fore said, nor prevail to imprint any
thing on the mind for a change to the
better (which God knowes is two com-
monly the case) they are triviall, and
little or not at all to be valued, if not
fallacious. Reall edification still may
not be concluded more, than what be-
fore resolved: so that the issue, in our
present case to be tried, is no other
than this, Which kind of prayer most
conduces to the making men *wiser* or
Holyer.

And, lastly, it is to be considered by *sec. 5.*
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way of premise, that there may be a *private* edification of a mans *self*, as well as a *publick* edification of the *Church*; and that what may conduce to the one, may not equally contribute to the other. This is plain out of the forementioned chapter to the *Corinthians*, ver: 3 and 4. *He that prophesieth speaketh unto men to edification and Exhortation and Comfort. He that speaketh in an unknown tongue edifieth himself; but he that prophesieth edifieth the Church. The gift of tongues might edify the particular owner, but it did not so much edify the community of the Church, as other more intelligible gifts.*

These things thus premised, I shall faithfully and impartially, upon long thought, and possibly some experience, endeavour to determine the case above putt, not at all detracting from the merits of what they call the gift of prayer.

Sec. 6. To begin with what may be said for it: Conceived prayer hath these advantages,

First, it is ever *New*, and so more apt to gratify curiosity; and therefore those
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who come not to the publick Worship out of sober Devotion, but Vanity or Custome, will more greedily come to it, and be less weary of it than prescribed Forms; its novelty both inviting to it, and allaying somewhat the *Tedium* or wearisomness of its length. In a word, it serves to bring many such people to Church. And the same is the true reason, why we have many Hearers of our *Sermons*, who will not at all come into the Congregation at the *Service*: The Sermon is always new; the Service is not. Now though such persons look upon it as a great part of Religion in them to affect Sermons so zealously, yet it may be feared that this is one point which may be added to the Inventory of their mistakes, that they distinguish not herein, betwixt Curiosity and Devotion.

Secondly, Conceived Prayer may be sometimes more suited and apposit to the particular seasons and occasions, than the general prescribed Forms: But this according to the abilities of the Performer, and as he is Master of phansie and speech, of consideration, invention and

Elocution. And Thirdly, For these reasons (namely, its Novelty allwayes, and Particularity sometimes,) it is more apt to affect common and more slighty minds. Their love, grief, compassion, joy, hopes, are more easily hereby stirred. Now these, though they are, as before said, very commendable and comfortable withall, and well pleasing to God, when they proceed from sober devotion and judgment, yet let any man of reason judge how useless, and of what deceitful and dangerous consequence, they may prove, when they have such an irrational rise, as from Novelty, Phansie and Humour.

Lastly, upon the former accounts it is easily admissible, that Conceived prayer may keep many persons more attentive to it, than they would be to common Forms. Yet so, that this attention cannot alwayes be accounted, nor is readily at first, true Devotion, or an act of direct Worship. It may proceed possibly from the Fear of God, and sense of his present Majesty, that I am so attentive. But yet every act of Worship importing a consent of the mind, and this

attention being in order to judgment, and that prævious to my consent, it is plain, the attention it self is not a direct act of Worship. For having attentively heard, inasmuch as all is new to me, I must first judge, whether what is in the name of the Congregation (and so in my name) presented to God, be generally approveable and suitable to my condition, before I can say *Amen* thereto that is, before I can either offer it up my self, or consent that it shall be offered up for me. Now I say, this act of consent and intention being in this case the first proper act of Devotion or Worship, it is plain, that neither of the precedent acts, of Attention or Judgment, are strictly to be accounted such.

These I profess are the onely advantages, which either my poor experience, consideration or reading suggest alledgeable for Conceived prayer in preference to Prescribed Forms: It is more inviting and less tedious to some spirits, it is sometimes more close and particularly apposit, it is more apt to affect common minds, and to retain some kind of attention; and how farr all, or any of

these, are advantages, has been under each head stated or intimated.

Sect. 7 Now on the other side, to deal ingenuously, it hath many inconveniencies, and such which concern both the Praier it selfe thus uttered, the Performer, and the congregation.

As to the prayer it selfe, that cannot be so complete and absolute as otherwise it might be, both in regard of matter, form, and the consent, which it should have from the whole assembly to make it their joint supplication, or common act of worship. In regard of the matter, it must needs be much deficient. The generall concernments of a Christian assembly are numerous and yet weighty; and therefore need to be represented or sett forth, as neer as can be, it not in expresse terms (as is done excellently in our Church Litany) yet under such heads as naturally enough comprisethem and suggest them to the peoples thoughts. Let any man be of never so happy consideration or ready memory, it is not likely, if possible, that upon the sudden or some little thought, he should make so just an enu-

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meration, or even summury of them, as is necessary ; especially supposing that commonly he is to vary expressions, if not method. He must needs omit many things necessary to be confest, asked, or given thanks for, through unavoidable lapse of memory, and being (possibly) more affected and carried away with other points.

And in this case, I appeal to any, who have been but in a tolerable measure seriously conversant in this kind of prayer in private, where they have fewer diversions than a vast congregation affords, Have they not many times, after having forecast the particulars of their state in their mind, kneeled down with an intention to make such or such confessions, petitions, thanksgiveings, or intercessions, which, being more affected with some other particulars, they have cleare omitted. If it be said, notwithstanding these omissions, God was privy to those intentions, & will accept them for express prayers: I return, so he was to the intentions of the mind, in all which was express, and if expression was necessary in one, it was in the other ; especially,

being a way is obvious which might comprehend (more neerly) all. And, which is more considerable, secondly, though God be privy to our intentions, man is not; and so they who should have joyned with the speaker in prayer, that is all ingaged in the prayer, but himself, are at a losse.

Further as in this kind such omissions are inevitable, so is there great danger of more positive mischief. A man though possessed actually with the fear of God, may deliver on a sudden a proposition, which he could oftentimes with recalled, as not fully foreseeing its consequence, when yet in the uprightness of his heart he spoke it. What miscarriages there have been of this nature frequent, I will not mention, though at hand: but sure, sufficient to justifie that Twelfth Canon of the Council of *Milevis*, forbidding a more cautious practice than this, *Ne forte aliquod contra fidem, vel per ignorantiam, vel per minus studium sit compositum.*

This as to the matter of such prayer, and in the next place as to words: though some men are more happy in extemporary language than other, yet generally

nerally the first expressions which offer themselves (and which in this case most ly a man must take) are not the fittest, properest and most pregnant. Things spoken on the sudden are commonly more rawly, imperfectly and confusedly exprest, which consequently must needs be as indistinctly apprehended by the auditory. Now certainly care ought to be taken that our *sacrifices* should be, as neer as can be, *without blemish* even in these outer parts.

Lastly, as to the Consent of the congregation, which any prayer, offered in publick, ought to have to make it their common act, I have already said, that it is most necessary men judge before they consent (and truly, too commonly, where conceived prayer is used in publick, most people are more employed in judging than in praying) now suppose after judgment past in the breasts of the hearers, many of them shall not think fit to consent to such a confessor, petitionary or Eucharisticall passage, what then is become of the Common or Publick prayer? Where is the agreement and conspireing votes of the faithfull,

necessary to render it more effectually ? And yet this seems to be required by our Lord, *Matth : XVIII, 19.* Here then are three or four considerable, yet undeniable, inconveniencies attending the prayer thus uttered.

2. As to the Performer or him who is the mouth of the rest: Though we admit him to be a person of happy gifts, of a vast comprehension, ready thought and memory, and as ready speech, yet no man being the same at all times, and he being to represent to God not onely his own state and wants (which his own heart possibly would more easily suggest) but the peoples too; First, his consideration, memory and invention must needs oftentimes be more on the rack, than they would be in the use of a mature, well-accomplisht, and known Form, to which in every point his whole soul might attend and consent without such distraction, or dis-ease. And, Secondly, When he shall apprehend any thing to be by him too unadvisedly, insufficiently, or blunderingly exprest, if he have any grain of Modesty in him, he cannot but be concern'd and disturbed ;
and

and the uneasiness of this may be much greater than that of the former case, and so more considerably withdraw his heart from due attention, if not sometimes almost confound him in some part or passage of his Prayer. Here then is a double Distraction attending the publick Performer in this kind of Prayer.

Lastly, in regard of the Auditory it has certainly these inconveniencies.

First, The Devotion of the whole Congregation is tyed not onely to the measure of the Ministers gifts and abilities, which in many are but mean or indifferent, but also to all the infelicities of his present temper, and the disorders of his heart. There is certainly much more reason to complain of *stinting the spirit*, if we respect the hearts of the people, in this case than under well composed Forms. Admit a man to be but a mean Master of speech, memory and invention, the Congregation, whose prayers can be no better than he can on the sudden pour out, is in a miserable condition. Admit him to be never so great an Oratour, yet no man hath at all times the same presence of mind and readiness

of utterance. Now it would be a deplorable case, that five or six hundred mens devotions should depend onely on ones, and be subject to be dampt or confounded by his distempers; of which even good men are subject to various. 1. To dulness or grosser indisposition of body, and so of mind. 2. To incogitancy and wandrings. No man so intirely devout, as that he can alwayes set bounds to his thoughts, nor therefore to his expressions. 3. To incumbrances and distractions from without. The Holiest men are many times more affected with worldly concernments and events than becomes them: and no man of reason can think it a tolerable evil, that the devotions of a multitude should be disordered by the distractions of a single person. Lastly, I have already insinuated the mischief, which must redound to the Congregation in publick conceived prayers, by reason of unavoidable omissions, or the deficiencies of memory & consideration, if of no other faculty. Let the incommodities arising from these and other like so frequently emergent cases be put together, & the summe will be very considerable.

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Secondly, conceived prayers are much more difficult to all mixt Auditories, than are known and common Forms. It is a very hard thing to speak so plainly, as to make half the common people understand, especially when there is no opportunity of interlocutory helps, and a man must take the words, which first offer. The language of Universities and Cities, and of men of liberal education, amongst whom men, that may be supposed qualified for this performance, have or should have been bred, is much different from that of the Vulgar. A multitude of neater words insensibly insinuate themselves, and by use become familiar and natural to us, which though they are plain to men of education, are not so to the illiterate. Again, what uncouth singularity of words, do men given to this conceived way, affect? I list not to expose any. Upon these and perhaps many other accounts (already touched) it is evident such prayers are very difficult, and as they who *occupy the room of the unlearned*, can seldome, for want of having understood what was said, say *Amen* to half, so by reason of

obscurity or confusion more learn d persons are sometimes in no better a plight.

Thirdly the devotion of the Hearers, yea even of the most judicious is put to frequent losses, by reason of the meer novelty of many expressions and things. As before said, after I have heard I must judge before I can consent: and if by reason of novelty, affectation of expression, ambiguity, indigestedness, or any such rub in my way, I cannot readily judge, but hesitate and deliberate touching this or that passage, in the meane time he who prayes is gone on, and now upon a new subject, and I evidently left behind and at losse, and miserably perhaps confounded before my devotion can close in again: and no sooner it may be well fixt, but again lead into the same inconveniency and Maze.

I professe I have not plaid the sophister in any of these charges: I judge in my conscience all men who understand things, and are sober and unprejudicate, must needs acknowledge the truth of what I have said; and it is not impossible

sible but that *I* might have added much more on this Subject.

But it is time now to pass to the consideration of common, known, and prescribed Forms. And first as to their Conveniencies. Sect. 8

1. They are more mature and comprehensive, than are, or can be, any extemporaneous effusions: and that both as to matter and words. They are made upon consideration and study, and not without invokeing the assistance of the Holy Ghost. They are afterwards scanned and examined by their authours. They then pass many other learned mens judgments, and perhaps corrections by all which they are fitted not onely to the publick necessities and condition of the people, as to the matter contained in them, but to such facility and naturalness of speech as may comply with all mens understanding, and withall, to such gravity and reverence, as is due to the divine worship.

2 Though it should be supposed, that by reason of that temper, in our people generally, which the Holy Ghost objects to the Hebrews (Chap: V ver. 11, 12)
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that

that even forms themselves, when new, are not so well understood by them as they should be, yet Common formes by being common become generally understood. And this is a matter of very great moment: For it is all one in effect whether I pray in an *unknowne tongue*, or in words of a tongue which I know, but do not understand these particular words of it; *still my understanding is unfruitfull*, and my devotion confused, and the benefit of such prayer little or none at all. Now this our daily experience teacheth us, that there are very few that desire to be serious in their prayers, who are not easily brought to pray *with understanding* by forms, and so with distinct edification. We may note therefore that our Lord Jesus thus taught his disciples to pray: for he saith, not only, *After this manner pray ye* (*Οὕτως προσεύχεσθε*) *Thus pray ye*, each of which words bears an Emphasis with advantage to this cause, though some have so wrested them as to inferre thence the Lords prayer to be onely a pattern for our imitation) but, *when ye pray, say our Father*

ther &c. which words as expressly injoin the use of this form as any words can command any thing, as hath been shewn by a learned man in an Exercitation to that purpose. And indeed had not our Lord taught to pray by a form, he had not taught a way of prayer, of which all his followers had been capable. For though some, who have nimble natural parts may, by a little instruction and practice, be brought to conceive a prayer, as they speak (but many times rather in affected (that I say not canting) language than intelligible) such an unartificial education, as before described, sufficing to excite and help a pregnant fancy, yet those, who have slower conceptions and mean memories, are very difficultly, and not but in a long time, if at all, brought hereto. Yea I have known some men singularly pious, learned and judicious, from whom I have seen many excellent Prayers written, as being composed by them upon meditation and study, who yet were never able to pray with any tolerable readiness in the conceived way. And I have heard as much of the famous T. C. of whom more anon;

but

*M. F. Long
of Exon.*

but perhaps that way was scarce known in his dayes. Wherefore *I* may reckon it as a *Third* advantage of Prayer by Form, that it helps all mens infirmities. God forbid the world should ever be brought to that pass (as some would have had it) that none must ever offer up a prayer of their own to God, but such who are able to do it by the pretended gift. Now there is no person of whatsoever condition, sex, or almost age, if we suppose them to have any exercise of reason, but may be able to pray in this way, and that allowing them sincerity and understanding of what they say, as acceptably to God, as the ablest and most exercised Christian. By this means doth God in a manner, *out of the mouths of babes and sucklings* receive glory, and a sweet savour.

A fourth advantage of prayer by form is, that it governs and restraines some mens extravagant phantasies and designs as well as expressions. This was noted by *Mr. Calvin*, as his third reason why he would have (*Formulam precum & rituum Ecclesiasticorum*); a form of prayers and of Church rites, from whence

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whence Ministers might not swerve in their publick ministration (*ut obviatur desultoria quorundam levitati*) that by this meanes a stop might be prepared to the variablenesse and unconstancy of some: And after him by Dr. Ames, though a man more adverse to our Church and Liturgy than every Calvin was. *Non desunt etiam, quibus utile est, ut huiusmodi medio, in suis meditationibus ac desiderijs quasi regantur.* Having determined Forms of prayer, though read out of a book to be lawfull and profitable, his third reason for the profitablenesse thereof is “ There are some, “ saith he, to whom it is an advantage, “ that by this mean they be after a sort “ governd in their meditations & desires. It keeps men from many rambling imaginations and fond requests in private, and both from those, and Novelties too, in Publick.

Lastly, it cannot but be a secret comfort to a Christian mans Soul who useth the approved and prescribed Forms, that in the use of them he strictly maintains, & perhaps injoyes & tastes, the sweet communion of Saints, some thousand con-

gregations of the faithfull joining with him, and it may be at that very instant, in the same prayers. And it must needs be some satisfaction to any meek and modest person, that his prayers are such, which have past the approbation of a Church truly Catholick and Apostolical. I would indeed that all men should see with their own eyes ; but some have not the best sight, and by whom can such be better guided, and in whose sentence more satisfactorily acquiesce, than by such a Church, and in her resolution ? Besides, such a concurrent judgment doth no wise preclude or infringe my own, but rather addes to me fuller perswasion and content. And certainly, if there be any truth in that promise of our saviour, *that where two of you shall agree on earth touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them in heaven,* so vast a consent of the faithfull in prayer must needs adde much more to the effectualness thereof, than if all these congregations varied from the other, & each of these the next time from it self, as lesse or more it would be in the conceived way. These are many

many, but I dare not say all the advantages of prayer by approved and prescribed forms.

Now to speak as impartially touching *sec. 9.* its inconveniencies: and I promise not to spare one, that I have either heard of, or can imagin.

First, it may seem justly said, that *stat*ed Forms, which are allwayes the same, cannot be so close and pertinent to our particular wants and conditions, both spiritual and outward, as those which are in a manner dictated by an heart viewing those concerns. And our wants or estates varying, so ought our prayers. Now too much generality cannot but be a fault, inasmuch as things generally considered and attended unto more slightly affect.

Besides that, secondly, Even use and frequency, as some say (and pretend their experience for their saying so) breeds dullness and incogitance. The lips and tongue can go without the heart, and so the heart often overruns them, scarce many times giving them the meeting at the *Amen*.

Thirdly it is ordinarily alledged, or
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has been at least (though retorted even by Dr. *Freston* against the very conceived way in publick) that Forms of prayer do stint the spirit, too narrowly bound mens affections, and as it were cramp their devotions; which have more liberty to take their free course and utmost flight when they do not follow, but disagree words.

Lastly, Forms seem more servile and mean: they savour more of the *Jewish* Pedagogy than of the Evangelical spirit: they are as milk fit for the weaker and ruder sort. They became the Church in its Childhood, and may become particular persons while they are yet babes in Christ; but neither are particular persons alwayes to be children, nor the Church ever in Non-age: They become not therefore the present Age of Christianity, much less of the Reformation. This is the summe of the incommodities of Forms, which I am able to produce.

If any deem me to have been too sparing in this behalf, I profess it is, because upon serious and long thought, more materials did not occur: and if any per-

person will be pleased to add to them, I hereby bind my self, when such intimations come to my knowledge, to make a due answer to such new inconveniencies, or else ingenuously to acknowledge, that I am not able to see, but that such inconveniencies are irremediable and intolerable.

And thus now both kinds of prayer lye before us with their respective advantages and inconveniencies. Now to make a true judgment upon the consideration of the whole, comparing both, we will say, That which soever kind be-
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sides its own conveniencies, is capable of most of the conveniencies of the other, and hath least inconveniencies either of its own, or from the addition of so much of the other as it partakes of, is certainly to be preferr'd. This rule is so reasonable, that I may presume it will not be excepted against. But such I say is Prayer by allowed or prescribed Forms, especially in publick, and perhaps by arbitrary Forms (though variable) most commonly in private: and this will be evident by view of the particulars already laid down.

First, its own conveniencies are undoubted. 1. Maturity, comprehensive-ness and more exactness. 2. Intelligible-ness, or being more accommodate to the peoples or all mens understanding. 3. Easiness and succouring the infirmities of the weakest. 4. Bounding extravagant designs and phancies, restraining idle suits. 5. The comfort which redounds from the sense of the communion of Saints maintained herein, the satisfaction from our prayers being approved by so competent a Judge as the Church: together with the greater effectualness thereof, in all likelyhood, as being offered with so general consent.

Secondly, Prayer by Forms, and particularly by allowed and prescribed Forms, is capable of all the real advantages of conceived prayer in publick. I said of all its real advantages: for it is no prevarication to say, all its reputed advantages are not real. As namely. 1. *The uselessness* of a Prayer in general is no advantage of it at all, nor is it any prejudice on the other side to a Prayer, that it is known or old. Can any man say, he is less able to pray with due affection,

section, because he knows what petitions or parts of prayer the Minister will come to next, or understands all he will say? Rather in all likelyhood, knowledge in this case should prepare the heart to a meet temper. Those persons whom novelty onely, or chiefly, brings to their prayers, are certainly men of very airy and fantastical devotion (let the Reader pardon the seeming contradiction in the terms) The onely case, as far as I can see, wherein it is a commendation to a prayer that it is new, is, when there is something new in the condition of the Suppliant, to which it is accommodate. Now it is well known, upon new occasions our Church frames new Prayers suitable thereto: and Christ himself, who had the spirit without measure, doubted not in the same case to use three times the same words. But thus taken, the newness of prayer resolves it self into the particularity of it, which was reckoned as a second advantage of conceived prayer. And touching this I say, forasmuch as publick prayers must be supposed to be offered up by every particular person in the Congregation, whose

whose conditions in particulars differ, but agree for the main onely in their generall nature, therefore all publick prayers ought to be conceived in generall terms; otherwise they will not fitt all the particular persons who are to joynetherein. It is therefore no fault of the Confession in the begining of our Liturgy, that it is general: Every man were thereby in some degree a liar, if he should accuse himselfe of those sins, whereof yet another man ought to accuse himselfe. In publick prayers, it must be a mans particular reflexions on his own condition, while he offers up the general forms, that must make them particular. Thus he that reflects on the peculiar errours of his wayes, on his omissions and commissions, when he repeats the generall confession, makes the confession as particular to himself, as any publick confession of sin ought to be. And beyond this, particularity in publick prayers, as is evident, would be no virtue at all. Nay, any conceived prayers whatever, can no otherwise than thus become particular to a mixt auditory. And as to the³, advantage of conceived prayer, that
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it is more apt to affect, I say, that, besides that this is not true as to all, and it may be as to very few besides the performer, such devout and particular use and application of publick forms, as just now spoken of, will make them as apt to affect as any publick conceived prayers: for that conceived prayers are forms to all but him, who makes them. The same is to be said as to the 4th and last advantage of conceived prayer, that it is more apt to keep men attentive; Let such attention be understood, as is an act of devotion, and not of curiosity or in order to judging, and it is plain who uses publick forms thus, is attentive: and the habituating a mans self thus to use them, will keep him attentive. There is nothing in conceived prayer more than in forms apt to retain attention, but novelty; and that we have found more to gratify curiosity than devotion. And I need not tell those, who ever were seriously versed in conceived prayer, as to themselves in private, that they full well may remember even herein they can be guilty of incogitancies, distractions, dullness,

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and

and such disorders. Nimble as their tongues are, their hearts are much too nimble for them. It is thus evident then, that prayer by form may partake of all the real benefits of conceived prayer, especially if so prudently contrived as our publick prayers are, with allowances of meet places & transitions for the intersering such new occurrences, as the particular occasions of the faithfull may require to be intersered.

Now thirdly, that prayer by form, by parttaking of these the advantages of conceived prayer, doth partake of none of its inconveniencies, such as are materiall omissions, Errours in point of faith, insufficient expression, and the rest, is plain by the meer consideration of them: all these are provided against by well composed forms,

And lastly the inconveniences imputed to Forms of prayer are easily removeable or remediable. Some of them indeed have in them more of shew than truth; As, that frequent use should breed dullnesse: this can onely be true in such, who pray meerly with their lips and not with their hearts. Let men
honest.

honestly imploy their soules in the prayers they offer up, and they will find forms not at all to damp, but duly conduct Good affection. If we may deale sincerely & candidly herein, that dullnesse, which is apt to attend in prayer, arises indeed, either from Non-attentiveness, or from the antecedent causes thereof, indisposition of body, want of preparation of the mind, too much habituateing our selves to worldly or sensuall affaires and converse, the guilt of some sins unrepented of, or the like: or if not from these, then from prejudice and vain humour: let all these be duely provided against, and no feare of this complaint. For I need not tell the greatest freinds of the conceived way, how usuall it has been (and I believe is) for them to complain of lukewarmness or being quite cold in Holy things, of hard hearts, of wandrings & distractions of formality & having fallen from the love of their espousals, by all which I presume they chiefly mean the want of that more ardent affection, which they have formerly had in holy duties. And I am not so uncharitable to them as to thinke these

complaints to be dissimulatory pretences, or trifling expletives: they undoubtedly are sensible of, and desire to mourn over, what they thus complain of. But they would take it ill, should I impute this want of temper to *Conceived* prayer, as occasioned thereby: Let them then cease to do the like to us, and doing both themselves & us justice, acknowledge with us the true cause of this malady.

How the want of particularity in publick or private forms may be remedied we have already suggested: namely by each mans peculiar reflexion within his own brest, or otherwise by such private interpositions as his condition requires.

We have intimated also the vanity of that pretence touching *stinting the spirit* in prayer by form. If by spirit, we mean the spirit of the auditours, it being tied to words still, and those extemporary too, is as much or more stinted than in the other way. If we mean the spirit of the speaker, that possibly is under some distraction; whether that may be called restraint, we leave to consideration. However this
plea

plea can onely be made for such prayer in secret, between God and our Souls, which comes not within our present compasse, and which no man can inhibit us: or if he do, 'tis frivolously done, in as much as we can still enjoy our liberty herein, both without his leave and knowledge.

There Remains onely the last imputation against prayer by form to be weighed, that it is servile and mean, below the dignity and more liberall attainments of the Gospel state: Now this is a pretence grounded chiefly upon point of honour, and importing not so much any incommodity, as something inglorious. But be it what it will, we will consider it in its utmost force. Will then any man pretend that the *Glorious liberty of the Sons of God*, amongst other things, imports a free habit of speech? We have indeed, through the blood of Jesus, received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry *Abba Father*: that is, we have, through the same blood, boldnesse to enter into the holiest. In other terms, we have free access unto God as a father, according to our needs.

But does this inferr any internall gift or personal ability of utterance, so much as an exteriour priviledg, by Gods great vouchsafement conferred on us ? And is it not very certain too this liberty may be abused ? Besides, can we, by force of this dignation, pretend to any such plerophory of the spirit, that all the petitions we shall make, shall, by vertue thereof, be acceptable, fit, and such as become us ? Have we no need of thought, and forming our requests ? And if we have, where is the dishonour in acknowledging and practiceing it ? Or can it, all being considered that has been said, be pleaded by any, that prayer in the conceived way is generally most accomplit and excellent ? And if it must be acknowledged, both as to matter and form, more imperfect, is it then any honor to pray in a more imperfect sort ? Will it credit the Gospell, that men upon presumption of priviledges under it, present God with more raw & inconsiderate addressees ?

Upon the whole then, haveing shewn how all the reall inconveniencies of prayer by form may be remedied,

medied, and haveing removed such imputations, which are by prejudice and mistake affixt to it, its own advantages being besides so great, and it selfe capable of all the true advantages so much magnified in conceived prayer, I must needs give it, especially in publick, every way the preference.

Haveing thus made good the assertion touching prayer by known and prescribed forms, to give *good measure, pressed down, and even running over*, I might here more particularly insist, that conceived prayer neither has, nor in a common way can possibly have the conveniences of due forms and that indeed, neither in publick nor private. I will not deny but supposeing a liberal utterance, it may in private more comply with a large heart: and it may be good, in some case, in private to allow great affections their free vent, yet all waies with sobriety and humility. But this I do avow, that such prayer can never be so mature and comprehensive; so easy to all men, whether to practice themselves, or understand in others; and that in stead of governing it must needs give way to extravagant

travagant thoughts, phantasies, and expressions.

Sect: II Notwithstanding all this, some haply may urge their own experience, and plead, that feeling inwardly its efficacy and excellency, they ought not to suffer themselves to be beaten out of it. And to make this argument as plausible as I can, to give it all the strength which upon full consideration I am able to see it is capable of, We will say, there is such a thing as a kind of spirituall sense or tast. And the royall prophet hath warranted the expression, when he saith (*Pf. XXXIV.8.*) *O tast and see that the Lord is good:* now of this it may be said, as of common taste (*non est disputandum*) a man is not to be disputed out of it. And supposeing that any person hereby have perceived a remarkable advantage of conceived prayer, above prayer by form, he ought to suffer no discourses whatsoever to perswade him out of this his spiritual sense.

I answer hereto, according to what I have above allowed, who goes about it? But this advantage still is private; and though we should admitt this plea-
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of such spiritual sensation to be a sober one, yet it can be in reason prest no farther, than for mens private use of such sort of prayer, which they feel most efficacious to move them, and every way to them most excellent. For this can never be proved the publick sense, inas much as there are so many thousands who reclaim and protest otherwise, that they are not onely sensible, but as they think able to demonstrate to others, as I conceive it hath been in this Discourse already done, that there is much more advantage in knowne and stated Forms.

But let us a little more intimately consider this pretence. It resolves into nothing else but this, that the soul is conscious to its self of its own acts, & the impressions made upon itself. Such & such offices or performances may move more ardent affections, and the mind moved therewith cannot but feel them, and perceive that it doth feel them: and then all the reason or discourse in the world cannot, nor ought to perswade us, that we do not feel, what we do feel and are conscious of. Now I say, still of this spi-

ritual sense, if it be not Enthusiastical or Fantastick, a rational account is to be given. For as in the outward senses, there is no real sensation, except there be an object to move them; so in this spiritual sense, there can be no real perception of such excellency, except there really be such excellency: and that excellency if we are not able to make out rationally to our selves and others, it is imagination or humour, which we mistaking call spiritual sense. Upon a particular examination of the case as we could make, we have found prayer by Form to have all the real advantages in publick above conceived prayer. And the truth is (seeing it must be spoken out) if conceived prayer in publick be any more efficacious, or apt to move any Hearers than prayer by due Forms, it is onely by reason of Novelty; prejudice or Custome. How far those affections are to be valued that meer Novelty raises, we have already spoken. And as to the other points, it must be confessed, that many honest minds lye under a great prejudice against Forms by reason of their Education in Factious Times, and

and perhaps (in part) under Factionous persons, who have instilled into them their own Opinions, and inured them to a kind of Enthusiastick Worship of God. These persons have never been used to pray affectionately in any but new and conceived prayers, and therefore they think (as before intimated) there is no praying affectionately otherwise. But would these good men honestly lay aside their prejudice, would they fairly & with understanding read and consider our Church Liturgy, would they come there to with prepared, and devout souls, would they thus make tryal of it a little, lifting up *their pure minds* to God in the use of it, they would soon find, even under it, that tenderness of heart and warmth of affection, which they have experienced in the other way, and which, without vanity or dissimulation, we profess to all the World, for the glory of God, we do find under it as often generally, as with due attention and seriousness of mind we are conversant in the use of it. They would find also, by its comprehending more universally all their wants, and the wants of the whole

Israel of God, the great advantage to be on this side; and that there is no such spiritual sense against us in this case, as is pretended. And thus I have endeavoured in all calmness, candour and sincerity, and with the greatest reason and evidence that I could use, to satisfy this question, as to the real intrinsic merit of the Cause,

CHAP. IV.

Sect. 1. The sixth Enquiry. An account of the practice of the Catholick Church in this case. Sect. 2. The Original and progress of conceived prayer in publick, since the cessation of miraculous gifts. Sect. 3. Some respect is to be had to the Genius of each age. Sect. 4. An account of the temper of our people, or those who pretend to be sons of the Church of England. Sect. 5. What the Laws of our Church may seem to allow as to conceived prayer in any case. Sect. 6. What in prudence may be done without disobedience to the Church.
Sect.

Sect. 7. *The Conclusion of this Discourse.*

THE last point of Enquiry propounded was, what has been all along from the Primitive dayes the practice of the Catholick Church? For certainly, Christian Religion not being new, nor changeable, Universal and constant practice ought to sway much with us in all points thereof.

And in answer to this Enquiry, I say summarily, it cannot reasonably be denied, (1.) That some passages in our present Liturgy were Forms used in the very Times of the Apostles, if not by the Apostles themselves. (2) That if some of the Apostles themselves did not compile Liturgies, yet soon after the Apostles dayes there were Liturgies compiled, used, and generally injoynd by the Bishops of the more Eminent Churches. (3) That it is certain that ever since the beginning of the Fourth Century till the Reformation, there have been generally no other prayers but known and approved Forms, publickly used by allowance in the Catholick Church. And Lastly, none other publickly, since the Re-

formation, by allowance in our Church.

For making good the first Assertion, I will produce Three or Four instances: That passage *Sursum corda*, Lift up your hearts, St. *Austin* saith to be *Verba ab ipsorum Apostolorum temporibus petita*, words derived from the time of the very Apostles, as well as used in the Liturgy of the Church in his dayes. And we find them expressly, with the answer to them, *We lift them up unto the Lord*, *Habemus ad Dominum* in the Liturgy ascribed to St. *Peter*, and with very little addition in that ascribed to St. *James*, of both which more anon. But the authority of St. *Cyprian* is elder than St. *Austin's*, who in his Book *De Orat. Dominicâ*, has these words, *Sacerdos ante Orationem, præfatione præmissa, parat fratrum mentes, dicendo sursum corda, ut dum respondet plebs, Habemus ad Dominum, admoneatur, &c.* "The Priest, saith he, in the preface before the prayer (at the Eucharist we will suppose) prepares the minds of the Brethren by saying *Lift up your hearts*, that while the people answer *We lift them up unto the Lord*, they may be ad-

“admonished, they ought to think of
“nothing but the Lord.

The words which follow, *Let us give thanks unto the Lord*, and the answer, *It is meet and right so to do*; And then, *It is very meet & right, and our bound duty, &c.* The words Let us give thanks unto the Lord are omitted in St. James's copy but: they are in St. Cyrills of Hierusalem, as well as in St. Peters.

(*Ὁς ἀληθῆς ἄγιος ἰσχυρὸς δίκαιος, πρῶτος τοῦ ἔθους, μόνος σεαυτοῦ, &c.*) are also found in the Liturgy ascribed to St. James, the Bishop of Jerusalem, and brother of our Lord, as also in that ascribed to St. Peter. They are also transcribed by S. Cyril, S. James's successor in the See of Hierusalem *Catech. Mystagog. 5.* So is also that Seraphick Hymn, *Therefore with Angels and Archangels, &c.* with some variation. I might alledge more out of this Office of the Holy communion, especially as to the *Trisagium* or the *Holy, Holy, Holy*, which follows in that Hymn, but designing brevity, I pass to the Office of Baptism.

The solemn renunciation of the Devil and all his works, &c. the profession of Faith made by the person to be baptised, and some interrogatories to these purposes are certainly derived from the Apostles age, if not which is most likely,

ly, for the substance, a Constitution of theirs. *Ἀποστὰς τοῦ Σατάν, καὶ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ*, &c. *I renounce Satan and his works and pomps*, Clem. Constit. l. 7. And if that Authour be of suspicious credit, or an uncertain age, *Tertullian* is not, who began to write about the end of the second Century. In *Ecclesia*, *sub Antistitis manu contestamur nos renunciare Diabolo, & Pompe, & Angelis ejus*, &c. Lib. de coron. mil. *Before Baptism* (saith he) *in the Church under the hand of the Priest*, we protest to renounce the Devil, his pomps, and works. He adds, that being baptised they did, *amplius aliquid respondere quam Dominus in Evangelio determinavit*, and
 “ Iwer something more than our Lord
 “ had determined in the Gospel; that is, undoubtedly they made a longer profession of Faith, than is set down in the Gospel at the institution of baptism. And his saying they did *respondere*, make responsals, must needs interr some interrogatories put to them by the person baptising them.

But *Origen* is express in this matter, who speaking of Rites and Customs so long in use in the Church, that the ground

ground or Original of them could not easily be given, amongst other points demands, *Eorum quæ geruntur in Baptismo, verborum gestorumque, & ordinum atque interrogationum ac responsionum, quis facile explicet rationem?* "Who, saith he, can easily unfold the reason of some things which are done in Baptism, of the words, gestures and orders, of the *Interrogatories* and *Responses* — which yet we observe and fulfil, according as we first took up, being delivered to us by Tradition from our Great High Priest (Jesus Christ) or his Disciples. *Orig. in Num. Homil. 5.* Now this form and practice being so early received in the Church, and ever since retained, cannot, as *Tertullian* expresses himself on a more general case, be (*Erratum sed traditum*) any novelty or corrupt practice, then of late crept into the Church, but delivered to them from the former, that is, the Apostolical age.

Lastly, that in the Apostles dayes not onely the people used to answer their *Amen*, (as is sufficiently concludible from

Homil.
35. in
1 ad
Cor.

1 Cor. XIV, 16.) but that their prayers used to conclude with some Doxology or blessing of God, which ended in these words (*Ἐν τῷ ᾧ αἰῶνα τῶν αἰώνων*) To ages of ages or *world without end*, is clear out of St. Chrysostom on the Corinthians, who reports this as the cloze of that *blessing with the spirit*, spoken of there by the Apostle, which also Peter Martyr on the place has acknowledged. *Ex quo loco habemus, etiam primis illis temporibus preces publicas consuevisse per hac verba in secula seculorum absolvi.* Now in those Liturgies before mentioned, and even in our own, we know how frequently our prayers thus end. These instances I conceive sufficient proof of the first Assertion.

And as to the second, whosoever will without prejudice consider the reasons there are to believe, that some of the Apostles left some beginnings or grounds of a Liturgy, or of a Form and Order for publick administration in the worship of God, and that even in words known to have been used by them in their administration, will it may be with me judge it highly credible, that the

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constitution of a Liturgy in general did derive from the Apostles themselves. We have in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. Tom. 2. Three old Liturgies, amongst others, Two ascribed to Apostles, and one to an Evangelist. The first to St. James the brother of our Lord, whom *Eusebius* affirms to have been by the Apostles chosen first Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and who seems to have acted as such, being President in the first Council held at *Jerusalem* (*Acts XV, 13.*) and delivering the definitive sentence. The second to Saint *Mark* the Evangelist, whom Ecclesiastical Authours generally agree to have been the first Bishop of that Famous Church of *Alexandria*. And the third to St. *Peter*. Now touching these, I will first set down the Opinion of two persons very much versed in Antiquity, and then my own thoughts with their reasons. The truly learned Mr. *Thorndike* & Dr. *Heylin*, having allowed it *sub judice*, how far these Liturgies, as to the ground of them, were theirs, whose names they bear, acquaint us, that upon comparing each of them with the Liturgies of the respective Churches, where those

Relig. Assen. chap. 7. Hist. of Liturg: Ch: 5.

Holy men longest presided, or which at least pretend them to have presided there, it will appear, that the Liturgy ascribed to St. Peter is, *for the main and substance, the foundation and ground of the Roman*; that to St. Mark, of the *Alexandrian*, extant in the forementioned collection; that to St. James, of the *Hierosolymitan*: whence they conclude them to have been the *Ancient Liturgies of those several Churches*, and afterwards for the gaining of authority to them, to have had those great Names affixt to them. But they affirm them according to the judgment of the Learned (and I do not doubt but there is sufficient proof of it) *as ancient doubtless as the third Century*. Now for my part, with submission to the more judicious, I conceive we may be more positive, & justify what we say, if as I have done, we affirm more. I do therefore ingenuously and in plain terms profess, that as I am not so fond and credulous to think that any of these Liturgies intirely as we now find them modelled, were of these inspired Authours composure, so on the other side I am not so infidel as to think, that

that nothing in any of them was theirs. There are many passages which singularly favour of the simplicity and ardent devotion of those dayes, though this *golden* part be almost buried in the *hay and stubble* which later ages have heaped thereto. That it is probable there might be some ground-work laid by these Holy men, seemes concludible from what has been said on the former Head: otherwise, how should those passages come so earlily and universally into the Church, if none of the Apostles had used some more constant Order, than what is of extemporary suggestion, in publick Offices, and the very Forms of words which they used, had not been long known, observed and recorded? Nor doth it at all hinder, that though these Liturgies are assigned to different Authours, yet in many substantial parts they so agree, as if one hand had been in them all: for it is no wonder that there should be much concord, even in words as well as things, amongst those who had all been bred Disciples under the same Master. And we are to remember, what we have from as ancient a Father as molt

Clem. extant, *Μελες ἡ παλαιὰ γίγνηται τῆς Ἀποστολῆς,*
 Alex. *ἡ παλαιὰ ἡ ἀρχαία, ἡ παλαιὰ ἡ ἀρχαία.* As the Dis-
 Strom. *Trine of all the Apostles was one and the*
 lib. 7. *same, so was their Tradition as to out-*
ward Order. And in the other compo-
ter parts, which came not from the A-
postles, these Offices might have, if not
the same interpolators, yet of the same
judgment. But that which sways me
most to this mind, is what I confess I am
not able to answer if it be, as it is, plead-
ed for them: especially as to that ascrib-
ed to St. James, the evidences are ma-
ny and strong. First, we find this Litur-
gy in the Church of Jerusalem in St. Cy-
ril's dayes, who comments therein, as
to divers passages, in his Mystagogical
Catechises. Now this Cyril flourished
about the Year of Christ 350. Secondly,
 Bibli. I find in *Sixtus Senensis*, to whom I am
 oth. referr'd by the Publishers of this Litur-
 Sant. gy touching its authority, that *Proclus*
 lib 2. Archbishop of *Constantinople* (according
 to usual calculation about the year 418)
 who was a stout oppugner of *Nestorius*
 in the third General Council at *Ephesus*,
 owned a Liturgy beginning as this doth,
ut veram & germanam Jacobi Scriptu-
 ram,

raw, as being St. James's genuine Work, and that it was used as such in the Greek Church. And lastly, what prevaieth most is the suffrage of the Fathers in the sixth General Council, begun at *Constantinople*, but denominated from *Trullo* where it was finished, who avow in defence of their Thirty second Canon, or the rite which they thereby enact, that S. James the brother of our Lord, according to the flesh — in an holy Office or ritual delivered to them (*Exhibuit*) in writing published that so it ought to be done. And we find it accordingly in that Liturgy, which bears his name. Now whether that rite of mixing water with the wine were really a Tradition of St. James's or no, it mattereth not to my purpose: It is not easily supposeable, that Two hundred twenty seven Fathers (for so many there were in that Council) should urge an authority of dubious repute, or alledge a Book to be then received, which was not received. And this is evidence sufficient to prove, that in the Ancient Church, which was nearer the Apostles times, and had more advantage to search the truth, it was no wise doubted but
some

Some of the Apostles were Authours to the Church of a publick stated Form of Worship (which is all I contend for) however those Forms are not come sincere to us. This as to the Liturgy ascribed to St. *James*. There are some authorities which I could produce for that of St. *Marks* , and the other of St. *Peters* , indefinitely, that those Holy men were reputed to have left Liturgies to their Churches, I do not say these intirely but in part, for I avow these abominably corrupt: but what I have said is enough to my design in the assertion I have laid down.

Now if any one should judge the first part thereof, that some of the Apostles did deliver the Grounds of a Liturgy to the Church, scarce evident , yet thus much is beyond controverſie, that Liturgies under these names (particularly that attributed to St. *James*) were extant in the times alledged, and that is the first proof which I produce for the later part of that my second Assertion, That soon after the Apostles dayes, there were Liturgies compiled, used, and generally in-joined by the Bishops of the more eminent

nent Churches. As to the compiling and
 use of Liturgies, it is plain that one of
 these, as to the ground of it, could
 not be of later date than the Third cen-
 tury, if of so late. And as to the injuncti-
 on of Liturgies, there cannot be clearer
 evidence demanded, than express Ca-
 nons of Councils or Synods. Now it is
 beyond question, that in early dayes it
 was provided in the Christian Church,
 that the Prayers approved by Councils
 should be publickly used: and if any
 other were requisite, yet none should
 be of publick use, till such time they had
 passed the Councils, or the Bishops ap-
 probation. And particularly to this pur-
 pose, the Council of *Laodicea* held ac-
 cording to *Baronius* about the year 314, Vid. Ba-
ron. in
appen.
ad To:
4.
 or 315, which first and best settled the
 Canon of Scripture (the Old Testament,
 if I mistake not, fully as we receive it as
 to the number of Books, and the New
 one so too, within one) that Venerable
 Council I say, has this Canon, Πασι τοις ἀδελφοις,
ἀποστολικοις ἑκκλησιαστικοις καὶ λαϊκοις ἑκκλησιαστικοις καὶ λαϊκοις
ἑκκλησιαστικοις καὶ λαϊκοις, Can. 18. *That there*
should be alwayes the same Order (Form
or Liturgy) of Prayers, both at Nine a
O clock

clock (in the Morning) and in the Evening. Here is an injunction by a Council which because some would so construe, as to reconcile it with a liberty of every Ministers framing his own Forms, provided he use constantly the same, we will add to the Canon the Gloss, which its old Commentator put upon it, which interprets it directly against this sense, that *those who had a mind might not* ^{Εὐχαρί}

Zonar.
in Con-
cil. La-
odic.

id est: Constitui, compose their own prayers, & say these in the Assemblies, but that ^{τὰς αὐτὰς} *Εὐχαρί, ἡς ἂν τὰς ἑκὼς παραδεδειχέναι, the same pray-*

ers, that is, those which were already received by tradition, should be made in each Assembly. For confirmation of which sense, he cites the Twenty third Canon of the Council of Carthage, as being to the same effect with this, by which it was ordained, ^{Τὰς καθιερωμένας πρὸς τὴν Συνόδου Εὐχαρί πρὸς πάντας λαοὺς ὅ μὴ Νέας ᾖεναι}

In Cod.
Can.
Affic.
Can.
103.

That the prayers appointed and authorized by the Synod should be used, and not other new ones. By which report of this twenty third Canon of Carthage by Zonaras, it is evident, that either the Latin copies, extant in the Magdeburgenses, Carranza, &c. are faulty as to that 23. Canon, if not others,

others, as some seem to have proved, or that we are to understand those words in it [*cum Fratribus instructioribus contulerint*] of some Bishops conferring about the new prayers spoken of, with superiour Bishops or the Fathers in a Council, & procuring their approbation and authority thereto. And the above celebrated Doctour Heylin, proves by the three preceding Canons, the 15, 16, and 17, Hist. of Liturg. Ch 6. (much to this purpose) & by the subsequent, Can. 19, that the sense of the Council is for stated Liturgies, and the other cannot possibly be admitted, without destroying the design of the Council in them all: which will be evident to any one who will peruse the Canons thereof.

The next evidence I shall produce shall be in the following Age, the Canon of the Council of *Milevis*, held, as is evident by the very preamble of the Acts, under the Empire of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*; and therefore about the year 403, or 404, *Placuit & illud ut preces vel orationes quæ probatæ fuerint in concilio,* C. 1. 12 &c. "It also hath seemed good unto us, that those prayers and supplications which have been approved in the

“ Council, and such prefaces (I suppose in celebrating the Eucharist) and
 “ commemorations be used by all. *Nec alie omnino dicantur in Ecclesia nisi quæ à prudentioribus tractatæ, vel comprobatæ in Synodo fuerint;* “ And that none other at all be used in the Church, but
 “ such which have been examined by
 “ the more prudent (and such certainly were the Bishops of the Churches reputed) “ or approved in the Synod. The reason (above touched) of this their constitution is most wholesome, namely, for the prevention of errors and innovations in Faith, which may be very successfully insinuated into mens affections by new and arbitrary prayers.

From henceforward, it were easie to be copious in producing the Canons of subsequent Ages: for scarce a Council past without some reference to, or reinforcement of, such former constitutions, I will mention some in the succeeding Ages, that it may be evident, what was the constant practice of the Church. The Council held at *Agatha* (now *Agde*) in *France*, about the Year 506, has its 21. Canon to our purpose. *Quia convenit*

ordinem Ecclesiæ ab omnibus æqualiter custodiri, statuendum est, sicut ubique fit, &c. To the same effect effect the Council of *Pau* (*Epannese*) in *Burgundy* about 2 or 3 yeares after; the Council at *Girona* (*Gerundense*) in *Spain*, in the year 518. *Primum Statuitur ut unaquæque provincia in officio Ecclesiæ unum ordinem teneat.* Their first Canon is that "Every province observe the same order in the service of the Church. To omit others, in the next age, the fourth council at *Toledo*, held about the year 632, has its second Canon thus: *Placuit ut unus ordo orandi atque psallendi a nobis per omnem Hispaniam & Galliciam conservetur: unus modus in, &c. quia in unâ fide continemur & regno* "We think fit there be observed "one order of praying and singing "throughout all *Spain* and *Galicia*, one "form in celebrating the solemnities "of the Eucharist, one form in the "Evensong &c. because we are all of "one faith and Kingdome.

Should I proceed beyond these years in alleging authorities of this nature, it would be said against all that follow, corru-

ptions & Popish superstitions now came in apace on the Church, & it is not much to be heeded what the councils in such dayes enacted. Now though all men know the pretended universal Bishop had not yet so easily gotten the universal power, as to overaw all Councils and synods, yet on this suggestion, I will give my reader no more exercise for patience on this subject; these things having, I presume, both abundantly proved my second assertion, and made a fair way for the *third*.

Which being negative, the proof indeed would rather lye on the other side (possession being, as they say, a good title, till a better is made out) The Church were to be produced which in some time, betwixt the daies from whence we have dated Liturgies & the reformation at *Geneva*, did allow arbitrary or conceived prayers. But this indeed being not to be done, we will give it as good a proof as the case will admitt, and such, the foundation of which we have already laid. We will then suppose (& the supposition will be deemed violent by none, who have read any

any thing, and observed the severity of those ages in points of Ecclesiastical order and discipline) that in former daies men did not, as they do now in our country, make lawes and never keep them. If Ecclesiastical order was once enacted, it was strictly observed: excommunications then were dreadfull, and penances heavy. So that having found the observation of Liturgies so expressly decreed, and these decrees so frequently all over the Church iterated and enforced, in every particular province whither the Church had spread it selfe, we cannot think the allowed practice of the Catholick Church was contrary to its direct and so often repeated lawes. On the other side we may conclude the censures of the Church to have been brisk & severe against all who affected innovation in this case, and in any the least regard made attempts thereto.

I remember not at present, in my small reading to have met with any, who varied from the publick received or appointed Forms of Worship, but such who being themselves infected with
some

some Hærefie or other, had a mind to spread their contagion, and used this as the least suspicious, and most effectual course of instilling its poison into the people. Thus *Paulus Samosatenus* Bishop of *Antioch* about the year 262 (according to *Eusebius*) took away (*Psalmos & Cantus, qui ad Domini nostri Jesu Christi honorem decantari solebant, tanquam recentiores & à viris recentioris memorie editos &c*) "The Psalms & Hymns, which "had been used to be sung in the Church "to the praise of God and Christ, pre- "tending them to be new and compos- "ed by men of later date (though it seems they had been used before his time)" and introduced new ones of his own: but this in order to the magnifying of himself, and spreading his own Hærefie against the Divinity of Christ.

Now how this was taken, though in a Bishop of so eminent a Church, the same *Eusebius* reports. A Council was called at *Antioch*, whither resorted almost infinite Bishops, Priests and Deacons, by whose unanimous consent he was censured, and particularly for this practice, as appears by the very Conciliar Epistle;

Eccles.
Hist. li.
7. cap.
22, 23,
24.

Epistles; He was, *ab omnibus sub Cælo Ecclesiis excommunicatus*, Excommunicated by all the Churches under Heaven, deposed from his Bishoprick, and refusing to submit, extruded by the *secular arm* of *Aurelian* the Emperour, with the greatest disgrace.

Afterwards the *Arrians* attempted much a less change in the Doxology, used at the end of the Psalms, about the middle of the Fourth Century, some of them singing one while in stead of *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost*, onely thus, *Glory be to the Father, and the Son, in the Holy Ghost*; and after a while, *Glory be to the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghost*, both which though admissible in a good sense, escaped not sudden notice and censure. *The Shibboleth* was soon perceived and checkt, being universally disapproved, rejected and overruled by the Orthodox Church.

What kind of Prayers the *Andians*, as *Epiphanius*, or *Andeans* as *Theodore* calls them, used, I do not find recorded. These were a sort of *Anthropomorphites*, generally of a very strict life, but refused

Epiph.
contr.
Hær.
lib. 3.
Tom. 1.

sed to hold communion in Prayers with any, though never so blameless and upright Christians, except such who were of their own Sect: which practice of theirs *Epiphanius* calls, as it was indeed, *most grievous and horrible*. For this cause amongst others, *Audius* himself was censured by the Church, and afterwards banished into *Scythia*, where, and amongst the *Goths*, he ended his days; and his Followers being adjudged *Hæreticks* and *Schismaticks*, the Sect in some time, of it self fell. By these instances it is plain enough what was the sense and practice of the Church, in reference to those who innovated the least, in point of the Publick Prayers or Worship. For though it may be said, these several persons or parties were censured rather for the Hæresies couched in their new formd devotions, than for the making to themselves new Forms, yet it must be together acknowledged, that their very making of New Forms, or attempting upon the Old, being adjudged one particular, which amongst others is recorded, or taken notice of, to have made up the summe total of their respective Hæresies

refies and Schisms, such practice cannot according to the judgment of the Church in those dayes be looked upon as innocent, much less allowed and well esteemed. And withall it appears how just reason the Church has had, both for due composing and prescribing Liturgies, as finding ever no more succesful expedient for the preventing the subtle spreading of Hæresie, and preserving the Unity of Faith and Doctrine, than Uniformity in the publick Worship. In which care of preventing the one, and preserving the other, if we will allow the Church to have persisted, we must admit what is contended for, to have been her constant practice ever since that first constitution of Liturgies. And if it be but just and reasonable that the Church still persist in such endeavours (as certainly the experience of this Age has sufficiently convinced it is) then is it fit such order be still maintained.

For a conclusion in this particular, I must not omit, that long since there has been an expresse challenge made and published, by a most learned and sincere person (one who had read ~~as much~~ ^{as much} it ^{M. Herbert} may

Thorn- may be as any man in the Age, and who
dike, as well understood the controversies of
Just our dayes as any other whosoever) to
weights produce any one prayer made by Bishop,
& mea- Priest, or Deacon, by his own private
sures, gift, in the Pulpit before Sermon, for
cha. 16. fifteen hundred years after Christ. The
A. D. publick Liturgies were indeed used be-
1662. fore Sermon; but no prayer at all of the
 Ministers own making, in which the
 people were to join. The Minister
 might himself kneel down before he be-
 gun to preach, and in private betwixt
 God and himself, implore the assistance
 of Gods Spirit in that so great Work :
 but that he made a solemn Prayer of his
 own in the behalf of the people, is ut-
 terly denied, and any one instance in an-
 tiquity challenged to be produced; nor
 has the challenge, that I ever could hear
 of, been yet answered, though it have
 been notorious enough. There is indeed
 an authority produced out of *St. Chry-*
sofome, by that worthy and learned
 Gentleman *Hammon L' EStrange Esq;*
 (though it cannot be said in answer to
Mr. Thorndike, because *Mr. Thorndike's*
 Book was publisht Three years after)
 yet

yet as may to some men seem, for the contrary opinion, in these words. τί γίνε-

ται οὐδὲν ἰμιλίαι, ὅταν Ἐυχὴ μὴ ᾖ συνειζυγμένη; ἀλλ' ἐν
πρῶτῃ Ἐυχῇ, καὶ τότε λέγει, *Where is the profit of
preaching if prayer be not joined with it?*

First goes prayer, then comes the Sermon.

But that this prayer is to be understood of the publick stated prayers, then in use in St. *Chrysostome's* own Church, is evident by another passage out of Saint *Chrysostome*, where he mentioneth the Deacon (not the Bishop who was to preach) bidding Prayer in this Form,

Διακόνε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου ἡμεῖς ἑστέμεν ὁ λαός, ᾧ ἡμεῖς
ἀλλήλοισιν. *Let us pray for the Bishop* (who

was then to preach, and possibly going up into the Pulpit) *that he may rightly divide the word of Truth* This then here designed, was no prayer of the *Preachers*, but of the People, viz. their Common prayer: and whatsoever prayer was used by the Preacher, was his own in private, as appears by the very prayer, which if any could be, is to be produced against what I say; that I mean of Saint *Ambrose*, the very matter, Form and style of which shews, that he both designed and used it betwixt God and him-

De pro-
phet.
obscur.
Tom. 2.

self, and that the people had nothing to do therein. I find it thus in *Ferrarius* 3 whence he had it I can onely conjecture, I have not yet found. *Obsecro te Domine, & suppliciter rogo, Da mihi semper builem scientiam quæ edificet, da mitissimam & sapientem eloquentiam, quæ nesciat inflari, & de suis bonis supra fratres extolli. Pone quæso in ore meo verbum consolationis, & edificationis, & exhortationis per spiritum sanctum tuum, ut bonos ad meliora valeam exhortari, & eos qui perversè gradiuntur ad tuæ rectitudinis lineam revocare verbo & exemplo. Sint verba quæ dederis servo tuo, tanquam acutissima jacula & ardentes sagittæ, quæ penetrent & incendiant mentes audientium ad timorem & amorem tuum.* I forbear translating, because I would not be tedious: and those Readers, whom this Form concerns, are presumed to understand it. I onely say further of it, that had this Prayer been designed for the people to bear any part therein, even but to an *Amen*, it would have had a more formal close, as many other prayers, which according to the manner of those dayes being presented (*per me*)

se=

De ritu
concio.
lib. 1.
cap. 8.

secretly by the Priest or Bishop, ever ended, when the people were to express their consent, with *per secula seculorum* (^{chap. viii}) in an audible voice; or *per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum*, or some like passage: whereas this plainly concludes in an abrupt sort, and is rather a Summary of such ejaculatory petitions, as that Holy Bishop used seriously to send up to God before his preaching, than any publick or compleat Form. Which being sufficiently evident to any considerative person, hereby may ample satisfaction be given to those two authorities out of St. *Austin*, that look somewhat athwart on what I affirm: namely, that produced by *Ferrarius* in the Chapter above mentioned (though with no design undoubtedly to justify any such practice as this of conceived Prayer before Sermon, which is no where in use in their Churches, that I, *ordinarily* or I believe any man ever heard of) *The hour now coming* (saith the Father) that the Preacher is to speak) *Prinſquam exera: proferentem linguam, ad Deum levet ſtudentem animam*) “ Before he employ his *Aug. de Doctr. Christi. lib. 4. c. 15* tongue in speaking, (viz. to the people)

ple) "let him lift up to God his panting
 "soul, that he may be able to utter
 "what he has taken in, and deliver
 "what he has prepared. Who sees not
 that the Father intended the private ejaculatory prayer of the Preacher, to the intent before expressed? And the other authority alledged out of the same Father by the before commended Gentleman, is to the same effect. *Pastor orando pro se, ac pro illis quos est allocuturus, sit Orator antequam dictor*; "Let the Bishop (or Preacher) "by praying for himself
 "and those whom he is to speak to, become a Supplicant before a Dictatour: namely, as St. Ambrose (St. Austin's Father, who begot him in Christ) had by his forementioned example taught him, in a private and most devout address. Still we see, the Preachers own private devotion, not any publick prayer, in the name of the people, is prescribed or recorded.

All that that can be said to the contrary, as far as by my utmost search I can find, from any use of the ancient Church, amounts onely to the *Double salutation*, as it was called. The Bishop coming

ming up into the Pulpit, said, *'Eplwv vμwv, Peace be unto you,* which after, when it became part of some Priests work to preach, was changed into, *The Lord be with you,* to be used upon the same occasion by the preaching Priest; whereto the people answered, *And with thy spirit.* But this will no whit avail for the asserting the antiquity of such prayers before Sermon, as are in use amongst us. The *Romists* (whether having laid aside generally, or superadded to this ancient usage, I cannot say) commonly use before their Sermons the *Angelical salutation* of the blessed Virgin, *Ave Maria, gratia plena,* &c. which though now used as a prayer in that Church, yet in its own nature is nothing less. However even this use is Novel; and he, that would Ferrari: have fetched it as high as possible, is not ubi able to plead its rise from any elder au- supra.thour than *Beatus Vincentius Ferrerius*, who flourished about the Year of our Lord 1410. and first makes mention of it. And the reasons, which they give for the use of it, shew it cannot be of much elder date; it was brought in, say they, *Propter Hæreses in Beatam Virginem*, by

Q reason

reason of Heresies sprung up in the Church against the blessed Virgin, as *In principio* was added to the *Gloria Patri* in opposition to the *Arrians*, &c. But neither will this do the adverse opinion any service: so that I must needs profess, I see not but the learned Mr. *Tborn-dike's* demand or challenge (to have it shewn, that the publick prayers of the Church, or indeed any prayer of the Preachers own making, presented in the name of the people jointly with himself, was used in the Pulpit, is utterly unanswerable, as above said) The Liturgy, a great part of it, did go before the sermon, but no other prayer did publickly intervene betwixt it and the sermon: And the rise of such intervening prayers shall presently be shewn.

In the mean time, it remains to be made good what was the last point above asserted as to the practice of the Catholick Church, that our own Church (a most sincere part of the true Catholick Church) never allowed any publick prayers, besides those in our Liturgy, since the Reformation. And we will begin our researches as high as we can.

That

That there were some attempts, not without intermissions and interruptions, towards a Reformation in the dayes of King *Henry* the VIII (though the Church of *England*, as now it stands, cannot be intituled to all his Acts) is not to be denied.

What concerns the present case, is the alteration of the prayers of the (then) Church: and the summe thereof (as far as I can find) was, that by his injunctions issued out by his Vicar General, according to his direction, Anno 1536,

“The Curates in every Parish should teach the people to say the Lords Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in the *English* Tongue.

Afterwards (to wave what was done, as to the publication and allowance of the Bible in *English*, and of a certain (then at least) excellent Book, intituled, the *Institution of a Christian man* in the Year 1545, he appointed, to the end the people might be better acquainted with the prayers of the Church, that the Litany, being put into the Form almost wherein now it stands, should thenceforth be said in the *English* Tongue. Besides this, I find by King *Edwards* injunctions

Dr.
Heylin
Hist: of
the Re-
form. 1

ctions, that he caused the Primer (but in what Year I dare not affirm) to be set forth in *English* by his authority, to the intent that they who understood not *Latine* might pray thereupon. Something also was done by him (I suppose in the aforementioned injunctions) as to a Form of *bidding prayer*, of which more anon. Otherwise, the prayers of the Church (such as they were) stood in his dayes as they did before, and prest with the same severity: Witness the six Articles, and the proceedings thereupon. So that no varying from stated Forms could be as yet allowed.

In the dayes of King *Edward*, things came on towards more maturity. Immediately after his coronation came forth his Injunctions (many of them the same with his Fathers, and others little varied) by diverse of which strict care is taken for the use of such Forms, as then were extant by authority, and of none other. By the 19th. it is provided, *That no person shall henceforth alter or change the order and manner — of Common prayer or Divine service, otherwise than is specified in these injunctions, until such time*

as the same shall be otherwise ordered by the Kings authority. The injunctions specifying such order of Common-prayer are the 21. Touching Reading the Epistle and Gospel in English, and not in Latine—And every Sunday or Holy day one chapter of the New Testament in English at Matins immediately after the Lessons; and at Even song, after the Magnificat, one chapter of the Old Testament. And the 22 That the Priests with other of the Cure, shall kneel in the midst of the Church, and sing or say plainly and distinctly the Litany, which is set forth in English, with all the suffrages following, and none other procession or Litany to be had or used, but the said Litany in English, adding nothing thereto, but as the Kings grace shall hereafter appoint. Thus as to the publick prayer of the Church: as to mens more private prayer, the Lawes of our Church at present prescribe nothing, but if I mistake not the sense of the 33. (or as it may otherwise be reckoned the 24.) injunction, there was then a prescription even as to this: That all manner of persons not understanding Latine, should pray on no other Primer, but

what was lately set forth in English by King Henry the VIII: and such as have knowledge of Latine use no other also. And that all Graces to be said at Dinner and Supper, shall be alwayes said in the English Tongue. The Form of bidding of prayer was likewise reduced much for the better, and made five times shorter; but still, by the same injunctions, prescribed to all Preachers in the Realm: And all this, Under pain of deprivation, sequestration of Fruits of Benefices, suspension, excommunication, and such other coercion, as to the Ordinary, or other Ecclesiastical Judge, appointed by His Majesty, should seem convenient. Thus stood things by this blessed Josias's injunctions, in the very conception and forming of the Reformation, before any more mature order could be brought forth.

I will be a little more particular as to King Edward's Acts, because it is by some pretended, that things were better for them, and more liberty allowed in this case under his Reign, than has been since. Which although it were true, as I find no reason to pretend it is, yet it must be acknowledged, many things might

might be born with *in Ecclesia constituenda*, while the Church was modelling, which are intolerable when a regular order is established. To proceed then; While the Kings commissioners in all parts took care for the Execution of these injunctions, towards the end of this his first year was framed by the holy men (mostly) who afterwards compiled our Liturgy, at the Kings command, *An Order of administration of the Communion in English*, and before *Easter* sent abroad, with the Kings Proclamation in the Front both, in pursuance of the statute of 1. *Edw*: 6. c: 1. for ministring the Holy Sacrament to the People under both kinds, with consideration of which, the Proclamation is prefaced, and then proceeds after this manner. "Least any
" man phansying and deviseing a sundry
" way by himself in the use of this
" most blessed Sacrament of unity, there
" might arise any unseemly and ungodly
" diversity, Our pleasure is by the advice
" of our most deare uncle the Duke
" of *Somerset*, Governor of our person
" and Protector of all our Realms, Dominions
" and Subjects, and other of our
" pri-

“ Privy council, that the said blessed
“ Sacrament be ministred unto our
“ People onely after such Form and
“ manner as hereafter, by our authori-
“ ty, with the advice before mention-
“ ed, is set forth and declared. After-
wards, the Kings intentions of carrying
on the Reformation, and providing a
more compleat Order of publick pray-
ers, being declared, it follows; “ Wil-
“ ling all our loving subjects, in the
“ mean time, to stay and quiet them-
“ selves with this our direction, as men
“ content to follow authority. (accord-
“ ding to the bounden duty of subjects)
“ and not enterprising to run afore, and
“ so by their rashness, become the great-
“ est hinderers of such things, as they,
“ more arrogantly than godly, would
“ seem by their own private authority
“ most hotly to set forward. No thoughts
yet of every Ministers forming the pub-
lick prayer according to his own gifts;
at least no allowance, or even permission
of such practice in any the smallest par-
ticulars. For whereas, there being no-
thing yet of Common prayer extant in
English, but the Litany before mention-
ned,

ned, and this Order of the Communion, there were several publick occasions which required to be particularly represented in the publick prayers, for these there were particular collects framed, and used in the end of the Litany. Thus I find by Archbishop *Cranmer's* Articles of Visitation in the 2. of King *Edw.* 6. "Whether *the Curates* in their "Common-prayers, use not the Collects made for the King, and make not "special mention of His Majesties name "therein, *Art.* 4. "Whether they doe "not on every Sunday and Holy day, "with the Collects of the *English* procession (so, as appears by the 23d. of King *Edward's* injunctions, they then called the Litany) ,, say the prayer set forth by the Kings Majesty, for peace "between *England* and *Scotland.* *Art.* 5.

But soon after came forth a riper and more perfect birth : for on *Sept.* 1. the King commended to those godly Bishops, and other learned Divines, whom he had before employed in the Order of the Communion, the framing of a publick Liturgy, or Order of Morning and Evening prayer, and of ministring the Sacraments

and Sacramentals, and celebrating all other publick Offices : who readily and chearfully going to work, in a short time finished the design, which they were so weil prepared for, and which indeed, as to some considerable parts, was even then in a good readiness. This so finished, they presented in all humble sort to the King; who having received it to his great comfort and quietness of mind (to use the words of the Statute) commend- ed it to his Lords and Commons assem- bled in Parliament, by whom being per- used, it was dec'ared to be done by the aid of the Holy Ghost, and a statute regularly past, that all and singular Mini- sters in any Cathedral or Parish Church within the Kings Dominions, should from and after the Feast of Pentecost then next coming, be bound to say and use the Mat- tins, Even song, celebration of the Sacra- ments, and all their Common and open Prayer in such order and form as is mentioned in the same Book, and no o- therwise. See the statute more at large (2. Edw : 6. c: 1) as touching the penaltrie of useing other Forms. Afterwards in the year 1551, upon oc- casion

caſion of ſome doubts which had been raiſed in the uſe and exerciſe thereof, proceeding (as the ſecond ſtatute expreſſeth it) rather from the Curioſity of the Miniſter and Miſtakers, than any worthy cauſe, this Liturgy was reviewed, explained and made more fully perfect in ſuch places, in which it was neceſſary to be made more earneſt, and fit for the ſtirring up of all Chriſtian people to the true Honouring Almighty God. There was alſo added to it a Form for the makeing and conſecrating Biſhops, Priests and Deacons; and all injoined as before. (5 and 6. Edward 6. chap: 1) And thus ſtood the Publick Prayers under the Reformation in King Edwards reign.

Queen Elizabeths injunctions, as to this Anno point, are much to the ſame purpoſe with 1559. King Edwards; witneſs the 5th, the 18th &c. But what is moſt worthy of particular remark, in them is *The form of bidding of Prayers*, which more exactly agrees with our preſent Canon (anon to be conſidered) being altered much to the better, and eſpecially in that, for praying for thoſe, who are departed in the Faith of Chriſt, the people are onely invited to
praiſe

praise God for them, and to pray for themselves, that they may have grace to direct their lives after their good examples, and be partakers with them of the glorious resurrection in the life everlasting. And this, amongst the other points, is enjoined (as before in King Edwards injunctions) to be "observed and kept upon pain of deprivation, sequestration of Fruits and Benefices, suspension, excommunication, or otherwise as the Ecclesiastical Judge should think convenient. "The Justice of Peace to assist the Ordinary for due execution. As to the publick Liturgy, some alterations were made in it in the first Year of this Glorious Queen, considerably conducing to make it more satisfactory. The injunction of it was the same as formerly, onely the penalties somewhat more particular and severe, 1 Eliz. cap. 2. & 23. Eliz. cap. 1.

These things were onely reinforced (some Explanations of the Liturgy being made by his Majesties Commission) under King James, by his Proclamation of Mar. 5. in the first Year of his Reign of England, and by the Canons of 1603. As
to

to the state of things under our late martyred and blessed Sovereign King *Charles* the first, and the continuance of such order not onely in our own Church, but promoting it in the Church of *Scotland*, to whom our Liturgy, with such due alterations as accommodated it more to the approbation of that people, was sent and prescribed, things are so fresh in most mens memories, or so common in all our little Historians, that nothing need to be said. All that can be pretended by way of objection against what I have spoken, touching the allowance of our Church, must be grounded upon the 55. Canon, which will come under consideration in the following Section. In the mean while, I hope I have spoken particularly, and demonstratively enough (as the case will admit) touching the practice of the Catholic Church in this behalf.

Now as to the *Original* and *Progress* of conceived prayer in publick, I have proved, that in the Miraculous age of the Church, there were *inspired* prayers, and that this is the true Scripture notion of prayer by *Gift*. I have also cited, in the

the Front of this Discourse, a passage out of St. *Chrysostome*, undeniably to the same effect. But as to that notion wherein conceived prayer has been of late years practised, and is still contended for, I do say, the *Thing* is in a manner as new as the *Name*, and neither of them much above one 100 years old. By *conceived prayer*, I here mean, a *course* of framing publick vocal prayer ever anew, & as it is spoken, according to a mans present & arbitrary conceptions, in which he is presumed to be assisted by the *spirit* of God. And thus taken, as far as upon search made I can find, both the *Name* and *Thing* appeared first in the World at *Geneva*, and that some time after *Calvin's* return thither, as near as I can conjecture, about the Year 1550; Mr. *Calvin* himself being the first man, whom I can discover to have used *publickly*, either any new form of prayer of his own making, varied arbitrarily by himself, or any such course of praying as now described: but to give that worthy (however in some things unhappy) man his due, very modestly and soberly. Thus we have it reported of him, by *Johannes*

Eudæus one of his *Amanuenses*, at least one who, *cum duobus strenuis fratribus*, with two able brethren, took many of his Lectures in writing from his mouth, and is owned for this by Mr. Calvin with a singular character of kindness.

Sic uti Lectionum initio eadem semper utitur hic noster precandi formula, quam nos quoque hic addi volumus, ut tota ejus docendi ratio nota esset: ita etiam singulas Lectiones novis subinde precationibus claudere solet, prout illi ex Spiritu Domini datur eas EX TEMPORE formare, & ad Lectionis cujusque subjectam materiam accommodare. "As in the beginning of his Lectures, this our Doctour alwayes uses "a Form of prayer, which we also have "caused here to be set down, that the "whole way of his teaching might be "known: so is he wont to close each Lecture commonly with a new prayer, "according as by the spirit of the Lord "it is given to him *ex tempore* to frame "the same, and accommodate it to the "subject matter of the Lecture. This preface bears date in the Year 1557, and Calvin's prelections on the *Minor prophets*, being the first of all his prelections

In præf.
ad prælect.
Calv. in
min.
proph.

ons now extant (at least amongst his *Latine* Works, others are uncertain) and this his practice beginning with his prelections, it is plain I have reckoned favourably, when I cast it into the Year 1550, or thereabouts. Behold then here the first instance of this kind of publick prayer in the Christian Church, since the cessation of Miracles. And it would seem hereby, that the name *Extemporary* prayer was more ancient than *conceived*. But how far distant this practice of *Calvins* was from that of late and present dayes amongst us, shall appear by the view of *Calvins* own Forms. That before his Lectures was no more than this, *Dei nobis Dominus in celestis sue sapientie mysteriis cum vero pietatis profectu versari, in gloriam suam, & edificationem nostram, Amen.* "The
 " Lord grant to us, that we may be so
 " employed in the Mysteries of his Hea-
 " venly wisdom, as truly to grow in
 " godliness, to his glory and our own
 " edification, *Amen.* This in our dayes would be looked upon as a strangely short prayer before Sermon: but such was the modesty of this man, when he brought in first into the Church a Form
 of

of his own. His Extemporary prayers (as those commonly use to be longer than Forms) did something exceed this, and were for the most part of five or six lines, seldome or never exceeding nine or ten as any may see who list to consult his prælections on *Jeremy, Ezekiel, Daniel*, and the *minor* prophets. If any should object this to have been his practice only in his Lectures, but that surely at his Sermons he used more liberally to exercise this his gift, though I find little difference betwixt his Lectures and his Sermons, but onely that perhaps they were delivered most of them in a different Tongue and he has pleased to give them a diverse name, yet we will view his practice therein: and though we may still find some footsteps of an Extemporary prayer after Sermon (none before) yet possibly more regularly and conformably to the practice of the Ancient Church, than that at his Lectures: for his practice was rather an Exhortation to, or bidding of prayer, ending with the Lords prayer, than any proper form'd prayer of his own. His Brother Beza

Beza in
Prefat.
Conc.
Calvin.
in Job.

after Sermon, who in the Year 1593, thus records it in Latine(However possibly *Calvin* at his Sermons rather spoke in French)*Precatio quam solitus fuit D. Johannes Calvinus initio concionum suarum concipere*: “The prayer, which
 “*Mr. John Calvin* was wont to conceive
 “in the beginning of his Sermons. Here by the by is the first mention, that ever I met with, of *conceiving prayer*, and whether the Name *conceived prayer* doe not owe its Original to this *Beza's* elegancy in the Latine speech, *Orationem concipere*, I leave to the consideration of some men, whom it concerns to justify their own terms: yet I believe they will not be able to produce an antienter or better authority for it. But to return: the Form before Sermon which *Calvin* never varied, as far as I can find, was this. *Invocabimus Deum nostrum Optimum, &c.* “Let us call(or we will call)
 “upon our most gracious God and Father, beseeching him that he will please
 “to turn away his Eyes from those many and grievous sins and offences, by
 “which we constantly provoke his
 “wrath against us: and because we are
 “ve-

“very unworthy to appear before his
 “Majesty, that he will vouchsafe to look
 “upon us in his Son Jesus Christ our
 “Lord, and accept the merit of his death
 “in satisfaction for all our sins, so that
 “by that means we may be accepted be-
 “fore him: that he will also be pleased
 “to enlighten us by his Holy Spirit in
 “the true understanding of his Word,
 “and to give us grace to receive him by
 “true fear and humility in our soules,
 “and that through him we may be
 “taught altogether to place our whole
 “confidence in him, to worship and ho-
 “nour him, and to glorifie his Holy
 “Name in all our life: so that, since he
 “has pleased to take us into the number
 “of his servants and sons, we may ren-
 “der the honour and obedience which
 “faithful servants owe to their Lords,
 “and sons to their Fathers. Now let
 “us pray to him *precabimur autem* as our
 “good Master has taught us to pray,
 “saying, *Our Father, &c.* This is, word
 for word, what *Beza* calls Mr. *Calvin's*
 prayer before Sermon; which whether
 not more conform to the practice of bid-
 ding prayer in the ancient Church, but

Beza
Ibid.

especially to that in our Church, than any new, formed prayer of his own, let all the World judge. That which the same Authour calls *The prayer, which Mr. Calvin was used to conceive in the end of every Sermon*, begun in this constant Form. *Prosteruemur autem coram Optimi Dei nostri Majestate* [*hic solitus fuit adjicere. &c.*] “Let us fall down
“before the Majesty of our most gra-
“cious God. [Here was he wont to in-
“terfert whatsoever the subject matter
“of his Sermon gave him occasion to
“ask, which being different every Ser-
“mon, such petitions or acknowledge-
“ments cannot here be set down.] *They usually took up eight or ten small lines, and then he proceeded again in constant Form thus.* “And that he would not onely
“bestow this grace upon us, but upon
“all people and Nations of the Earth,
“calling all the poor ignorant, out of
“the blind captivity of Errours and ig-
“norance, into the right way of salvati-
“on, &c. And after several other peti-
tions for all sorts and conditions of men (in constant form) making up twenty lines or more, he concluded ever thus.

Hec

Hac autem omnia ab ipso petemus, sicut
¶ c. "All these things let us ask of him,
"as our supreme Master and Lord Jesus
"Christ has taught us to pray unto him
: in these words, *Our Father*. It is plain,
that this is also rather a summary Exhor-
tation directing what to pray for, and
moving the people to ask all these things
in the words of our Lords prayer, than
any true formal prayer, such as the usual
conceived ones of our dayes: so that
though by the forementioned interser-
tions, alwayes varied, and those short Ex-
temporary prayers before spoken of, he
gave the first instance of what we call
conceived prayer, yet this was, according
to the character already given, with
great modesty and sobriety, not ventu-
ring at the rate that our people do, who
would seem by the length of their pray-
ers to have received *the spirit without*
measure, but that generally the lamen-
table stuff they vent, shews they mistake
the abortions of their own fancies for di-
vine suggestions. I do not say, but that
there are some persons who use this
kind of prayer with good *decorum* and
great grace, and possibly to good pri-

vate advantage: but we see how small the beginnings hereof, at least in publick were; of how late age, and with what tenderness a famous Doctour, a man of as eminent parts, industry, presence of mind, as many ages have shewn, and withal the Father and Founder of that party who cry up this way, adventured at an Ejaculation or two at a time therein, when our common people, nay some even children in a manner, dayly challenge an arbitrary & unlimited right thereto, and pretend themselves in the constant exercise hereof to be moved and enabled by the Holy Ghost.

As to *Calvin's* part I shall onely add, that he was so far from admitting this unlimited gift of prayer, that in extraordinary cases of the calamities of the *Genevan* Church, he composed, used and prescribed particular Forms (*quibus reliqui ministri in urbe & agro uterentur*) for
 “ the Ministers to use both in City and
 “ Countrey, which are extant to this day.

Now that I have not impleaded this way of more novelty, than it is really chargeable with, I shall produce the confession

session of a very pious and learned man,
 and him sufficiently a friend thereto,
 Dr. Preston by name, whom, since my
 fixing this practice where I have done, Saints
daily
Exerc.
Sera 3.
 I find to acknowledge all in a manner
 which I have contended for, touching
 the primitive and constant use of Litur-
 gies. *In the Church*, saith he, *at all times,*
both in the primitive times, and all along
to the beginning of the Reformed times, to
Luther and Calvin's time, still in all times
the Church had set forms they used, and
I know no objection against it of weight.
 Touching *Luther* I shall say more anon.
 As to *Calvin*, I have already made it
 evident, he was far from laying aside all
 Forms, and out of the very Forms, which
 to this day they have in that very
 Church, which most follows his Rules, it
 is notorious, I might speak much more.
 Onely this I note here, that the use of
 set Forms in the Church, is not acknow-
 ledged to have received any disturbance,
 till since the Reformation by these two
 eminent persons: and yet that such use,
 as such, could not be any Popish corrup-
 tion (as the clamours of some pretend)
 which needed Reformation, seeing it is
owne

owned to have been continued *all along*, and even *in the primitive times*.

To bring conceived prayer nearer home; I need not speak how apt mankind is to follow Great and New Examples, especially in points which give men advantages to display their own admired excellencies. Such was the vanity or infirmity of many of our Countreymen, that even in other novelties as well as this, Happiest was he that was likest *Calvin* (and it had been well had they not far gone beyond him). But besides this unhappy propensity, there were several occurrences, which at first drew many of our Countrey men into love with and afterwards made the way fair for, the publick introducing of this practice. It is not to be denied, but there were some few too much enclined to *Zwinglianism*, who quarrelled the Liturgie in the dayes of *Edw. 6*. The dreadful storm under *Queen Mary* drove these, amongst many better and more sober persons of our Nation into a voluntary Exile, partly in *Germany*, partly amongst the *Switzers* &c. The place which gave them most encouraging reception was *Frankford*; and

and hither therefore the greatest number flocked. In the head of these appeared *Whittingham, Goodman, Williams, &c.* persons of the character before intimated, and ill affected to our Liturgy, though contented enough to have one of their own. Here, whether by their own procuring underhand, or by the Magistrates imposing on them, I cannot say, they could not have the use of the *French Church*, but upon promise to conform to the *French* in Doctrine and Ceremonies. This these malecontents readily accepted, strangely mangled the *English Liturgy*, left nothing but a confession new modelled, the Psalms, Chapters and Creed, and, instead of the Hymns, had certain *English Meeters*, which being sung, the Preacher went up into the Pulpit, and improving much the pattern given at *Geneva*, made there a more solemn prayer before Sermon, than that of Mr. *Calvins* (which seemed but needful, inasmuch as our Litany and the whole body of the prayers were now discarded) and after Sermon proceeded to a formal larger prayer for the whole state of the Church, especially the *En-*

lish Exiles, concluding with the Lords prayer, after the example of *Mri Calvin*. To mend the matter, to this thus disfigured *English* Church comes *Knox* from *Geneva*, where he had some time taken sanctuary, having, by a seditious Pamphlet against the Government of *Women*, made both his own Countrey *Scotland*, and the Kingdome of *England*, in each of which a *Mary* then reigned, unsafe for him. He would have set up amongst these Exiles some other new Rules of his own; but finding his design unpracticable, he struck in for the promoting the *Genevan* Order: which was carried a while, though not without great reluctancy of many, and some mixture of our *English* service. These things happened in the Summer 1554. In the Spring following came *Dr Cox* (formerly King *Edward's* Tutor, and Dean of *Westminster*, one of the principal compilers of our Common prayer book, and so a man of great authority amongst the Exiles) with several other *English* to *Frankfort*. He presently retrieves these disorders, removes *Knox*, settles Master *Whithead* as principal Pastour amongst them,

them, and Mr. *Horn* (afterwards Bishop of *Winchester*) with other able English Divines, in other Offices, and by this means, the Litany came into the Pulpit instead of the Preachers Prayers, and soon after most of the Service orderly, so that the face of the English Reformation again appeared, though in Exile. But this lasted not long, for in Spring the Year ensuing, upon occasion of words past between Mr. *Horn* (then *Whiteheads* successor) and one Mr. *Ashley* a popular Lay-man amongst them, the people take the power into their own hands, weary out their old Ministers, choose some new ones, manage all things by Officers appointed by themselves: in a word, Independency seems now to have entered into the world, and the Ministers they had, seemed rather to take unto themselves the liberty to accommodate the publick Worship to the Humour of the people, than any regular pattern. By which advantage, arbitrary Prayers amongst them might easily, and undoubtedly did grow apace, though I cannot instance in any particulars.

It is not to be wondered, if in the days
of

of Queen *Elizabeth* these men returning, brought much of this unsettled humour with them, and inveigled others with the love of a Forreign (and therefore forsooth more admirable) Reformation, which pretended to be farther off from odious *Rome*, but in truth was onely more dissonant from the Rules of the Primitive Catholick Church, and allowed both Ministry and People more liberty to pray and say whatever pleased them, than the sober English Form. But notwithstanding, the Order settled in King *Edwards* dayes, had not so uncertain Foundations, and the interval (however dismal) betwixt his and Queen *Elizabeths* Reign was not so long, but that the Liturgy and Lawes returned soon into their current: and though the Number of abused people, who were for some other Worship (but what, they did not well know) was by the forementioned means encreased; yet totally to wave the Liturgy, and bring instead thereof prayers of private composure, or *conception* (which was yet more rare) was not so feasib'e. The advantage therefore laid hold on was this. All Offices of
Wor-

Worship, before the Reformation, being performed in Latine, which the common people understood not, and it being not fit that whole Congregations, so much interested in the publick Worship of God, should be excluded from any other share therein, than that of being idle Spectators, or answering sometimes a blind *Amen* to what they understood not, for remedy thereof, in the days of King *Henry the VIII*, when he had not yet fallen out with the Pope, there had been devised an English Exhortation to the people, containing the Heads of the (then) prayer for all Estates, which the Preacher was to use before or in the beginning of his Sermon, as well to let them know whom they were to pray for, as to move them thereto. The Form is of some length, and may be seen at large in the fore-cited Book of *Mr. Ham: L' Estrange*. The summe for some reasons I will set down. "After a laudable custome of
"our Holy Mother the Church, ye shall
"kneel down and pray for the Three
"Estates, the souls in Purgatory, our
"Holy Father the Pope, all Cardinals,
"Archbishops and Bishops, especially
T 3 "my

" my Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury* ,
 " my Lord Bishop of this Diocese , all
 " the rest of the Clergy , the peace of
 " *Chriften dome*, the Realm of *England* ,
 " the King, the Lords of the Council ,
 " the rest of the Nobility, Benefactours
 " to the Church , Tillers of the Earth,
 " Fruits of the Land , good Weather,
 " all persons under any deadly sin, all
 " the sick, all Pilgrims and Palmers, for
 " share in their prayers, for the recove-
 " ry of the Holy Crofs into the hands of
 " *Christians* , for all women in our La-
 " dies bonds; for the Child that it may
 " receive Baptism, and the Mother Pu-
 " rification, for the good man and wo-
 " man that this day giveth bread to
 " make the Holy loaf, for them who
 " first began and longest continue it.
 " for those and all true *Christian* peo-
 " ple, every man and woman, say a *Pa-*
 " *ter noster* and an *Ave*, &c. This had
 been by King *Henry* the VIII. afterwards
 corrected, the Pope and Cardinals ex-
 punged, himself stiled supream Head of
 the Church, &c. & after that very much
 reduced by *K. Edwards* injunctions. Some
 small Alteration it received again in
 Queen

Queen *Elizabeths* dayes, being reinjoined, and was become now so innocent and conform to Saint *Pauls* injunction (*1 Tim. II. 1, 2.*) that those who liked not the Liturgy, did both like and use this before Sermon. The Chieftain of the Dissenters in those dayes was the famous Mr. *Thomas Cartwright*, who though he dreaded the Desk, yet stole oft into the Pulpit, first in some obscure Villages near *Cambridge*; afterwards he set up and read a Divinity Lecture (in the language of later dayes, preached the Lecture) at *Coventry*. Most of his hearers having no more kindness for the prayers of the Church than himself, would not usually come into the Church before his Sermon began; and by this meanes being guilty of so great an irregularity, as both preacher to handle, and people to hear the Word, without any other solemn prayer, but that brief though most comprehensive one of our Lords, he was desired by some of the Principals of his Followers, for their sakes who could not join in the Common-prayer, to frame a prayer of his own before his sermon: which he did, turning

ing the Exhortatory Form of bidding of prayer, with some addition of other Heads into a Form of prayer, which (I mean a Form of prayer of his own composition) he used both privately and publickly to his dying day. And I remember my self, soon after my first coming to the University, to have been informed by a very ancient Minister of that perswasion, that Mr. T.C. however a man of great Learning & parts, and an excellent Preacher, to his knowledg never did nor could *pray by gift*. We have thus seen in this great man, the first instance of a Prayer before Sermon (of the Preachers private composition) in *England*, though I believe none but that age, with which the World determines, will see the last. For this practice of Mr. Cartwrights no sooner appeared in the Nation, but it flew like *lightning*, from East to West, and he was imitated herein by Ministers of all sorts, as much as *Calvin*; & though the Queen by her injunctions and Visitations, and by an expresse Proclamation (as I have heard) forbade it, (for after so comprehensive prayers as those of our Liturgy, if men would be serious therein,

therein, & were of sober mind, there can be no great need of such practice, not to speak of the mischiefs consequent) yet could no considerable check be given hereto. And, what T. C. either never could, or never did, that presently many did to admiration, pray in the present conceived way, & many more affected it: insomuch that it presently became a Doctrine, publickly & generally preached up by such, who pretended the greatest purity of Reformation, that *Forms of prayer were not sufficient; That they were onely helps that one might use that is exceeding weak, as a child that cannot goe may use a prop to help it; but we must not alwayes be children, we must not alwayes use this help; That there is no man that has any work of Grace in his heart, but is inabled in some measure to pray without a set Form, he is able to express his desires to God one way or other:* And though the more sober part understood all these doctrines onely of private prayer, as is evident by the Authour now cited (*Forms are an help for the private, for the publick it is another case,* are his expresse words) yet these being the Sermons

Dr:
Preston
St. Dai-
ly Ex-
ercise:
p. 82,
83.

which were most resorted to, and books, containing such doctrines as these, being most read by such, who pretended the greatest zeal for Religion, and such persons withall practising according to these doctrines or precepts, it soon came to pass, that even the common people in private first, and then in their Families, adventured at, & as they thought much profited in and by conceived prayer. And though I say those sober men who first taught this practice, intended it onely for private, yet this being thought the best and most edifying course of prayer in one case, was adjudged such absolutely and in all cases, no other prayers much heeded by the Zealous; so that he being no body within a while, who did not before, and perhaps too after his Sermon, use a conceived prayer, many good men who knew both the novelty, and the irregularity of the practice, were drawn into it in their own defence, as being likely otherwise to be deserted and slighted in the discharge of their Function. The spirits of a multitude being thus prepared for this new sort of Worshipping, some Grandees, who affected change

changes, and upon that and other accounts (possibly of revenge and particular grudge) had a mind to disturb affairs, full well knowing that there is no more effectual expedient to draw well-meaning people, and especially those who are zealous in Religion (which were the fittest for their turn, because the fiercest) to any cause, than pretence of religion, conscience, and greater purity, made the settled Order of Worship, one particular of their grievances, cryed out for a Reformation of it, and animated all persons to write and practise against it. Designs being ripe, out broke our unhappy wars, which gave men liberty to pray or not to pray, and to do each as seemed good in his own eyes. And in process, it pleasing God in punishment of the National sins, that victory inclined to the worse cause, out comes an *Ordinance of Parliament*, Jan. 23. 1644, *For the taking away of the Book of Common prayer, and for the establishing and putting in execution of the Directory for the publick worship of God.* This *Directory* admitted matter or *Furniture* (to use their own term) for

Pref:
to the
Dire-
ctory.

prayer, to those would please to take it, but left each Minister to his own discretion, choice, method, expressions and gifts; declaring and averring, that *Our Lord Jesus Christ pleaseth to furnish with the gift of prayer, all his servants whom he calls to the Office of the Ministry.* A bold assertion, and in which the Authors of it did not consider, that they were obliged, upon this their principle, to confess that their Patriarch T. C. and many others, whom they cryed up for precious Ministers of Christ Jesus, were not called to the Ministry. But notwithstanding this orderly provision of materials, some not being able to manage them, and most thinking themselves above even thus much of a Form, very extravagant, immethodical, or else very lame and imperfect were most of the publick prayers: insomuch that some of the more sober men, of those very dayes, were really ashamed thereof; and amongst others, a learned and ingenuous person, drew together rules, framed a systeme of precepts, which although in complaisance to the language of the age, and to render somewhat of fo-

sobriety more palatable to a fantastical world, he intituled, the *Gift of prayer* yet in that he teacheth therein this kind of prayer, as we use to do the more Liberal Arts and Sciences, in that he applies to this office the principles of Rhetorick, delivering heads for *invention*, and helps for language or *elocution*, this is in effect a fair confession, that what he called the Gift of prayer, was in his sense no better or no other, than what we have above resolved.

Hitherto the rise and progresse of conceived prayer has been insited on, in the notion wherein it was *opposed* to the *Liturgy*, as an Ordinance or office of the publick worship, and as the Exercise of it was made a part of the *Ministerial* function. As to the *private* practice of some what of this nature betwixt God and a mans own soul, in an *ejaculatory* or *occasional* way, I do not believe some such thing to have been ever out of use amongst the faithfull, in any age of the Church, before or under the law, or since the Gospe'l. To breath out a petition, or so, under any pressing want, or upon any compassionate occasion is

naturall: and had this been it, which
 some men meant in saying, that *all men
 who have any work of grace upon their
 hearts are inabled to pray without a set
 form, and can expresse their wants one
 way or other*, no man of sense would e-
 ver deny it, but rather adde thereto.
 I will say, whether a man have a work
 of grace upon his heart, or whether he
 have not, let him ly under any calamity
 or want, or otherwise be considerably
 affected, and by the common faculties,
 which are naturall to all men, that have
 the use of reason and speech, he is able
 to expresse his wants or desires, one
 way or other, to God. The very hea-
 then mariners in *Jonah*, when they were
 likely to be cast away, prayed to God
 to save themselves and *Jonah* too. They
 were in their petitions very compassio-
 nate to him, and discreet as to them-
 selves: yet I neither believe them to
 have been in that instant inspired with
 any gift of prayer, nor before that to
 have had any work of grace upon their
 hearts. Grace at the utmost, according
 as appears by the story, was but then;
 if then, makeing its first attempt upon
 them:

them: nor can any man deny, but that common naturall abilities, admitting onely an ordinary concourse of God supporting us in the exercise of them, suffice for makeing such occasionall addresses. I do not say, but that in some such occasionall suits there may be, and often is, more than nature. In those secret elapses, which the souls of the faithfull make daily and hourly to God, upon all varieties of occasions, there is undoubtedly much of the preventions and assistances of grace. The warmth of heart and good affection, nay it may be the very thought and intention of praying at that instant, and on that occasion, proceed from the spirit of God. But here the case is widely different: no such urging or passionate circumstances are supposed. In such cases, I say, there is the same naturall ability and (haply) promptude to pray for help, as there is to *perceive*, *desire* and *speak*. And this being asserted by us there can be no controversy, remaining as to this point, were this the meaning of the gift of prayer: for what many times a man is able to do by strength of
na-

naturall faculties, he is certainly much more able to perform by them advanced by grace.

But this is not the sense of conceived prayer, even in that notion, wherein it has been asserted to be the *right* of every *private* Christian. It is notorious, that even by such a *private Gift of prayer*, they mean a being able to make a solemn, formall, continued speech to God, representing a mans whole state, for the main, as to his spirituall and temporall concernments, and also interceding for others as occasion shall require; for the expressing of all which, they suppose the infused promptitude to supply the faithfull, with freer and better terms, more naturall to their purpose, and more agreeable to the sentiments of their own hearts, than any they can otherwise be furnished with. Now this pretence I say is new: or if any, who are fond of the practice, will contend for the antiquity of it, I believe they will not esteeme it any great credit to their cause, to have the e'dest authors and practitioners of it produced. And I beseech them not to be offended, if being engaged

gaged to speak the utmost of my knowledge on this subject, I am enforced, by the process of my discourse, to publish the eldest tracks, that I can find, which may ground any plea for its tolerable antiquity; still prescinding from the inspired dayes.

Amongst the more *exalted proficients* in the *Religious Orders* of the *Romish Church*, I meet with a kind of prayer called *Mental* prayer, much magnified amongst them, and not without reason, if they practice it, as their more sober Authours teach and direct. But their newer *Mystical Divines* have made it a wild & unintelligible *Rodomontade*. The name indeed I do not find to be elder, than some of their later School Doctors, *Bonavent: Waldens: Gabr. &c.* And possibly they have accommodated this name, to more than in its natural import it will bear. It is used with them to signify in a manner all private devotion, as namely Reading, Meditation, Prayer, and Conreimplation (by which last, they understand an act of the understanding, imploied on God and spiritual things, ravishing the will with heavenly joy and

Snar. z.
de vi-
rut. Rel.
Tom:
2.1:2.c:
2.3.&c.

Bernard.
Tom:
2.

delight) and all these conjoin'd. This doctrine they pretend to take out of a piece imputed to St. *Bernard*, and extant in his Works, which is intituled *De scala Claustralium*, or, *De modo orandi*. But it is plain to any one, who peruses that piece, that St. *Bernard*, or whoever was the Authour of it, as he has not the term *Mental prayer*, so rather designed to shew what exercise of Devotion becomes a cloisterd Religious person (*spiritualis hominis exercitium* he calls it, and compares it to a ladder, of which he names the foresaid four acts as the four steps) than to midwife into the world any new sort of prayer. That kind of prayer, which St. *Bernard* makes his third step, and which, if any thing that he speaks of, is to be called *mental prayer*, is nothing but occasional addresses, or soliloquies, of the devout soul to God, suitable to the matter meditated upon, mixed with the Meditations in an ejaculatory way: *Orationes raptim quodammodo jaculatas* is St. *Austins* language in the same case. The name therefore being too strait for so large an exercise, some later Authours have been content to reduce

duce *mental* prayer to two parts, *Meditation*, and *Prayer* properly so called, that is *Petition*: for which also, to gain some colour of antiquity to so magnified a thing, they produce a passage out of the same *St. Bernard*, where he calls *Meditation* and *Prayer* the two feet by which we ascend to Heaven, and explains their effects thus. *Meditatio docet quid desitis oratio, ne desit, obtinet.* "The design of *Meditation* is "to find out what is wanting, of pray-
 "er to obtain it may not be wanting. But neither there has the Father any one word, as if these two distinct acts of devotion were to be reduced into one exercise or office, to make up a new kind of prayer. However the aforesaid Masters have done it, and so publish it to the world, extolling it above all other kind of prayer infinitely, and teaching of it (what some of our men do of *Conceiv-
 ed prayer*) that it is far more effectual than any other kind of prayer whatsoever, that it is *Angelical* rather than humane, the fountain and seminary of all virtue, the greatest participation of Heaven and I know not what not.

Ros.
gnol.
de. di-
scipl.
Christ.
Perf. l.
4, c: 4. 5

Serm.
de Sto.
Andr.
in fin.

Now in this later confined sense, as *Mental prayer* is supposed to be a kind of prayer opposite to Set Forms, and made up of *Meditation* and *Petition*, it would seem very neerly to agree with their practice, who exercise conceived prayer in private, not without previous thought and consideration. And though the name, *Mental prayer*, seem to import it to be onely an exercise of the mind (within which kind their loftier authours pretend chiefly to confine its practice) and not of the voice, yet there are not wanting some amongst them, and those too Seraphical enough, who engage also the voicesometimes herein. I shall represent all as plain as I can, for I must acknowledge the best talk a' little enthusiastically. They suppose three sorts or degrees of *Contemplation*. The first consists in the knowledge of God, gotten by reason, discourse, and study: this especially belongs to learned men and Scholars. The second lyeth principally in affection, without spiritual light in the understanding, or sight of spiritual things, and this is of plain unlearned persons, who give themselves wholly to devotion. By this they mean nothing, but some

Walt.
Hilton.
Scale of
Perfection.
Part: I.
Ch: 4, 5
&c.

some heat, or transport of affection, begotten by attent and continued thought on some sacred subject, which is apt to move the mind. The third comprehends both the former, and consists both in clearer *knowledge* and more elevate *affection*, which they therefore account *the most perfect contemplation that can be had in this life*. Now to the second sort of contemplation doth belong, say they, a kind of *peculiar vocal* prayer, which, if I mistake them not, is very neer a kin to *Extemporary* prayer. It is by none that I have seen more plainly described, than by *Walter Hilton a Carthusian*, who was Famous in the Reign of King *Henry the VI*, about the Year 1433, in a Book which he wrote for the use of *Margaret* Mother to *Henry the VII*, when she was now en'red into a Religious life. " There
 " is, saith he, another sort of *Vocal* pray-
 " er, which is not by any set Form of
 " prayer; but is, when a man or woman,
 " by the gift of God, feeling the grace
 " of Devotion, speaketh to God as it
 " were bodily in his presence, with such
 " words as suit most to his inward stir-
 " rings for the time, or as cometh to his
 " mind,

" mind, answerable to the Feelings or
 " motions of his heart, either by way of
 " rehearsal of his sins and wretchedness,
 " or of the malice and sleights of his E-
 " nemy, or of the mercy and goodness
 " of God. And hereby he cryeth with
 " desire of heart, and speech of mouth,
 " to our Lord for succour, as a man that
 " were in peril amongst his enemies; or
 " in sickness, shewing his sores to God
 " as to a Physician, saying with *David*,
 " *Deliver me from mine enemies, O Lord:*
 " or else thus, *Heal my soul, for I have*
 " *sinned against thee*; or other such like
 " words as they come to his mind.
 Thus this Holy and great man, especial-
 ly considering those dayes. Now this
 practice looks much like conceived pray-
 er: onely there must be acknowledged
 these differences. 1. That this kind pre-
 supposes much meditation, and rais'd
 affections; whereas in conceived pray-
 er men set themselves commonly to it,
 with little or no thought precedent, and
 use it as a mean to raise affection. 2. This
 is not supposed to exclude other ordi-
 nary prayers by Form, (as their *Mattins*,
Even-song, *Hours*, &c. as in their *Brevia-*
ries,

ries) to which all Religious persons amongst them are by custome, and their rule, bound: Whereas, amongst the people we speak of, conceived prayer is judged the onely sort of prayer to be used by such, who have attained the Faculty thereof: 3. The more liberal exercise hereof is lookt upon as more rare, even in those very persons who have arrived at it, a more than ordinary gift and favour conferred upon them by God, of short duration, and of no constant or frequent returns; as being *wondrous painful to the spirit, and wasting to the body, who useth it.* For, say they, *it maketh the body for to stir and move here and there, as if the man were mad, or drunk, and could have no rest.* In a word, this character of prayer very neerly agrees with such prayers, as I have heard some Quakers pretend to, who owe more of their Religion to men full well versd in these Books and practices, than the world thinks of. But our conceived prayer is ordinary, at arbitrary seasons, & much more tame and dull. Ours seems rather to be somewhat of their *Mental prayer*, (or that Meditation, which

Idem
Ibid

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 "to our Lord for succour, as a man that
 "were in peril amongst his enemies; or
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Idem
Ibid

is supposed to have preceded this kind of Vocal prayer) *worded* , but broken off, before it hath raised either mind or body to such passions , as they talk of.

Upon the whole, I really judge, that, excluding from the notion of our present private conceived prayer , such brief occasional ejaculatory prayer, as I before allowed ever to have been in use, and which no serious man will dare in general to reprehend , there is nothing since the inspired times , which looks like the private practice of our conceived prayer, elder than this practice , which I have thus given account of, amongst some of their more exalted Votaries, and which it is plain was not their usual daily prayer, at fixed times, or on common occasions, but some more extraordinary eruption and rapture of devotion. At least I sincerely profess, if there be any such thing, it has escaped my notice, notwithstanding that I have diligently examined what I could meet with writ on this subject, and have been otherwise inquisitive enough. It is plain , the Fathers , both in publick and in private used Forms, (though, I say it again, we
pre-

pretend not to tye any man in private to Forms onely) and when, in private, they would pay more solemn devotions on particular reasons and occasions, they penned to themselves new Forms proportionably. Witness the private prayer extant of St. Basil, of Ephrem Syrus on several occasions, of St. Ambrose preparatory to the Communion, together with the great variety of St. Augustine's devotions, and of diverse others. In succeeding Ages there could be no question, but the like use was more constant and uniform. I do find indeed Luther to have used conceived prayer, frequently, but not solely, in private, and with marvellous affection: of his publick use thereof I have not been able to find out one instance; and I have reason to conclude there was none. For I have observed his most private Sermons (his *Postilla Domestica*) as well as his publick ones, at the utmost to have begun, onely, with a very brief Exhortation to the people to attend, and that concluding without so much as the Lords prayer, [*Ut Deo debitum cultum præstemus*, *Verbum Dei, juxta ipsius mandatum diligē-*

Luth.
Postill.
Domi-
nic. 2.
Adven:

Domi.
fuz.
1532.
& Do.
minic.
3.&c.

gentes audiamus, &c.] “For the paying
“to God due Worship, let us diligent-
“ly attend to the Word of God, accor-
“ding to his commandment; and so he
proceeds with very little other preface
commonly to his Text. Sometimes he
begins even without any such Exhorta-
tion at all: and yet they who publish
these his Sermons, at the command of
the Duke of *Saxony*, pretend to have
taken them, in the *German* Tongue,
word for word from him: and tis plain
they were very exact, otherwise such
small prefaces as these would have been
omitted. Then for any conclusory pray-
er to, or after his Sermon, he common-
ly ends with such an ejaculatory petiti-
on, as we do, *Quod tribuat nobis*, or *Fa-
xit Deus, &c.* “Which God of his mer-
“cy grant us, or God grant this to us,
according as the dependance suggests,
and no more. But what is a greater ar-
gument, in stead of exercising any such
pretended gift of his own in publick
prayers, he kept close to the prayers of
the Church, onely translating and pur-
ging them. His first attempt was on the
XX. Sunday after Trinity, in the Year

1525, as he himself witnesseth. *Nunc jam Principis mandato, crastina Dominica publico experimento tentabitur in nomine Christi. Erit autem missa vernacula pro Laicis, &c.* "Now, saith he, in the

"Name of Christ, at the command of
 "the Prince we will make a publick
 "tryal of the next Lords dayes Service.
 "There will be the Communion-service
 "in their Mother-tongue for the people.
 "And there will be every dayes
 "Service in Latine, with Lessons added
 "in their Mother-tongue, as you shall
 "shortly see in the publick Copies,
 which he was then preparing. And something of such a Form, purged by him, is extant in his second Tome, pag. 556,

for the use of the Church of *Wittenberg*, where he taught: in which Office we find the Sermon to come in, in the same order as in our Liturgy, and we cannot reasonably imagine any other than the publick stated prayers to have preceded it. *Idem de Vernacula concione sentimus, ut nihil referat sive hic post Symbolum, sive ante introitum Missa fiat, &c.* "The
 "same do we judge (saith he) of a Ser-
 "mon in the Mother-tongue [namely,
 that

Epist.
 ad. I.
 Lang,
 & mi-
 nistr:
 Erphor.

Form:
 miss. &
 Com-
 mun.
 pro.
 Eccl.
 Wit-
 ten-
 berg:

that that should be used, as well as the *Nicene Creed*, in the Communion Service] “yet so, that it mattereth not, “whether it be made here after the *Nicene Creed*, or immediately before the *Introit* of the Communion, though “there is another reason why it should “not be made after the *Introit*. These I presume sufficient evidences, that *Luther* never pretended to, or exercised in publick any Gift of prayer. Nor in private, when any were present with him, can I find any such use of his. Amidst those prodigious temptations which he endured, dreadful apparitions of flaming Torches thrown at him, which even animated him for a while, when he came to himself, I find him onely at his *Venite, in contemptum Diaboli*, *Psalmum de Profundis quatuor vocibus cantemus*: “Come, saith he, to those who were with him, “in defiance of the Devil, let “us sing the Psalm *out of the Depths* “with four voices. This is not seeking God by the strength of imaginary gifts. In secret indeed, he used much and most fervent soliloquy with God, which we may call arbitrary, conceived, or extempor-

Melch.
Adam.
in vit.
Luth

porary prayer, as we please. This account is given of him by *Vitus Theodorus* his companion, during his absconding and solitude in the Forest by *Coburg*, *Nullus abit dies*, &c. "There passes, "saith he of *Luther*, no day, but he "spends at least three hours in prayer, "and those the fittest for studies. Once "I happened to overhear him at prayer. "Good God! what spirit, what faith "was there in his words! He asks every thing with such reverence, as being sensible he speaks to God, with such faith and confidence, as speaking to a Father or Friend. *I know*, said he, "that thou art our Father and God: I "am sure thou wilt destroy all the persecutors of thy children. But if thou wilt not do it, thy danger is conjoind with ours: it is all thy business: we engaged therein compelled by thee. Thou therefore shalt defend us. In these words, very neerly, did I hear him praying with a plain voice, I standing at a good distance: and my soul burned within me with singular affection, to hear him speak so familiarly, so gravely, so reverently with God, and in

“ his prayers plead to God promises out
“ of the Psalms, as being sure all he ask-
“ ed should come to pass. Now if we
consider what has been above spoken
touching *Mental* prayer amongst the
Romish Religious, and remember that
this great spirited servant of God came
out of a *Cloister* of the *Augustinian* Or-
der, in which life he had with great
zeal and seriousness exercised himself, in
all kind of their devotions, towards
God, we shall soon conclude upon what
institutions, methods and practices he
arrived at this promptitude and power
in this kind of praying. For the instance
given is plainly *Meditation worded*, the
soliloquie of a strong faith, and ardent
devotion, with God, in such language as
great affections broke out into. And
this his long retired life, and converse
in deep thought with God, together
with his study, and being exercised in
Scripture and much preaching, had ha-
bituated him for. Of his secret method
and course of praying, and what he
judged best in such case, if any list to
see more, they may view his *Simple*.
Orand. Mod. where himself relates his
own

own practices; And his *Enchirid. Piar. Precation*, where he censures other practices; both extant in his seventh Tome: which still speak more in favour of the *mental*, little, or nothing of the present *conceived* way.

And now having given this particular account of *Luthers* practice, I cannot believe that in the first and eldest *Lutheran* Churches, there ever appeared any such thing as *Conceived* prayer in publick. What their first publick Service was, we have seen: That they now have publick Forms of prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, all must acknowledge. That there should be amongst them, as in all Churches, some turbulent and fantastical men, no man can doubt, or think otherwise. That such men may practice at present conceived prayer amongst them, I will not deny: but this still must be acknowledged to have come in since *Luthers* time considerably, and so contradicts not what I have above asserted. And I am sure the doctrine of the modern *Lutherans* is temperate enough in this point. The utmost they say in the Controversie is, *No man can*

Proch. mand. Sytem. Theo. de invo. c. 1. deny. sect 7.

deny the expediency of set Forms, but he must contradict Scripture. Nec tamen negamus, ex usu esse, ut qui in re sacrâ uberioris sunt profectûs, ad certas precandi formas se semper non alligent: Yet we do not deny, but that it is profitable, that they, who are ripe Proficients in devotion, do not alwayes tie themselves to constant Forms of Prayer. Thus taught a Divinity Professour of theirs, of great note in the Year 1650, or since; and I scarce know any man worthy to be heeded, who will not say with him herein. But enough be thus said touching the Original progress and use of Conceived prayer, under any notion whatsoever.

Sect 3.

Haveing now spoken what I judge satisfactory, I am sure what is so to my selfe, touching all the propounded heads of enquiry, I know no conclusion which I can put to this discourse, that may render it more beneficiall, than if reflecting upon the present temper and *Genius* of our People, I consider (with all humble submission) whether somewhat be not to be indulg'd thereto, by some qualified use of conceived prayer, or arbitrary (but alwayes sober) forms,

in such cases where the law, either by ambiguity, or favourableness of expression, seems to give some appearance of liberty left to the Ministers discretion: & this, as well for the winning at present some persons to our Communion, as for the retaining others in it. We do find, in most cases generally, that prudent compliance gains more on many adversaries, than stiffness, and rigorous insisting on what is in strictness rightest and best. The *Ἀνεβδίκαιος* he that is *righteous overmuch*, is neither in the Holy Ghosts, nor in the Philosophers judgment the best man in point of morals. And whether in good Politicks there be not to be admitted a *Prudentia* *ἡ ἐπιείκεια* or moderateness, which, being extended to Ecclesiastical as well as Civil sanctions, shall a little rebate the strictness of the injunction, *ἡ ἐπιείκεια δὲ τὸ καὶ δέον*, where by reason of the universality of the terms, and cases that could not haply be foreseen by the law-giver when the law was made, it seems to require or forbid more than is for the publick good (the great end of laws) whether I say such a temper

Eccles.
VII. 16.
Aristot.
Et c.

is not commendable, deserves much the consideration of wiser men than my self; to whom therefore I leave it, not taking upon me to determin, in the general. Onely I humbly judge, that if we of the subordinate Clergy, with all deference and humble obedience to our superiours, do, by the use of that poor measure of Christian prudence, wherewith God has endowed us, in the fear of God and with conscience to our severall obligations, mete out to our selves (*pro hic & nunc*) what we judge most expedient, provided our practice still consist with a favourable sense or interpretation of the law, we are not to be blamed; at least, for our good intention, and no refractory procedure, we may find, before all sober men, an easy pardon.

We do not want great *Precedents* in cases of like nature, and there are also *Precepts*, or counsels, that look this way. St. Pauls Judaizing, to have taken off, if it might be, the prejudice which the believing *Jews* had against him & his doctrine, is a pregnant instance of like practice, or an higher. *Acts: XXI, 23,*

24, &c. To pretend that he had the *vow* of a *Nazarite* (at least temporary) upon him, as he did in effect when he put himself into the company and state of *four* men that had, to *beat charges* to provide for those men and himselfe the legal rites and sacrifice, to *shave his head* and in the Holy fire devote the hair, to await the *seven daies* for the *accomplishment of his purification* & then to *come into the temple* solemnly to testify the accomplishment thereof consenting that the accustomed *offerings* should be made for himself also amongst the company (all which by the purport of the text it is plain he did according to the law in that case, and all this too, after that very law and all sacrificing was abrogated by that most perfect and ever blessed sacrifice of our Lords own body on the cross, as had been determined by the very Hierosolymitan Council, was a compliance a very strange height: and yet as we see justifiable, both from the practice of that great Apostle, and from the advice of *St. James*, and the Elders of the Hierosolymitan Church. ver: 18, 20 &c. Let us but view this a

Acts.
XV.

little more attentively: Put in the scales, on one hand, ingenuous dealing, the owning a mans self fairly, what according to conscience and duty he is, and the asserting that *Liberty with which Jesus Christ has made us free*, haveing purchased it at no meaner a rate, than that of his own bloud; and on the other hand, the makeing a pretence, difficultly reconcileable with truth, and in pursuance thereof consenting to, and seemingly joyning in acts of worship, as difficultly justifiable under a Gospel state, if we now consider both practices according to due merit and right, who will not say the former is in its self much surer, better and every way more laudable? Yet it was not so adjudged in those circumstances, or that juncture of affaires. Nor is this great Apostles practiceing thus a thing once said, but reasserted and maintained by himselfe. *Though I be faithfull be free from all men, yet have I made my self servant unto all, that I might gain the more. Unto the Jewes I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jewes: To them that are under the law as under the law that I might gain them that are under the law*

1. Cor:
IX.
19, 20
&c.

law: To them that are without law, as without law, that I might gain them that are without law; to the weak became I as weak; that I might gain the weak: I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some. A fuller precedent to our purpose we cannot wish: & one of greater authority except in the case of our Saviour (which also we shall have instantly) we cannot have. Again, how fair are those Apostolical injunctions in like case. *We then that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please our selves. Let every one of us please his neighbour, for his good, to edification. For even Christ (Behold here our Lords example) pleased not himself. &c.* To which passage it were easy to alledge many parallels. *And the authority of those copies is very great, saith the Learned and judicious Dr. Hammond,* which read *ΚΑΤΑ ΣΤΑΒΙΔΟΥΤΕΣ serving the time* (Rom: XII. 11.) besides that the designe of the context, and the parallel passage in St. Ignatius his Epistle to St. Polycarp, and the easiness of the variation, make it much the more probable reading. There may certainly be such a thing,

thing, as a commendable *time-serving*; when considering the time, place, and posture of things, in the prosecution of a great good, we at once follow the rules of *prudence* and *good conscience*, sweetly *reconciled* and conspiring in the use of the same means. I confess it is much easier to discourse plausibly on this subject, than to practice unblameably: yet certainly such an accommodative temper is innocently practicable. However, we commonly teach, and most truly, that the Constitutions and Laws of the Church are alterable, or may be dispensed with: and whether those particular Lawes, which in strictness injoin ministers to use no other prayers in publick, but what are prescribed in the Liturgy, are not, as things stand at present, fit to be a little relaxed, or possibly are some way tempered already, is worthy of great consideration. It may truly be said in this case, as in that of the Judaizing Christians at *Jerusalem*, *We see there are many thousands that believe*, that are serious good men, and devoutly use our Church Liturgy, who yet are *all zealous of a prayer before Sermon*

mon, and that too varied and accommodated to particular occurrences, and little new emergent cases.

The body of our Church (I mean of the conformable people of these Nations) seems to be made up of three sorts of persons. The first, (which are far the fewest) are the honest old *English* Protestants, people soberly brought up in the bosome of the Church, truly serious and judicious in matters of Religion, who, though they have had the happiness never to be quite out of the Church, yet are not therefore merely of it, because they were born in it, but out of choice and conscience *hold fast their Mothers sound Faith*. These people well know how to address themselves to God in private, and in publick they would be fully content with the strict observation of the Churches rule, without the addition of other, or daily new prayers. There are a second sort (much more numerous) whose harder lott it was, to be bred up in factious daies, and haply amongst factious men, who having never known what the Church of *England* was, till they saw it restored, soon

Sect. 4.

soon grew sensible of the whimsies and Fantastiall waies in which they had been kept, and whatever share they had unhappily had thereof, seriously repented, and, with a sweet mixture of penitent sorrow and joy, betook themselves into the arms of their mother, blessing God that they had lived to see, whence in truth they were descended. Many of these having tasted much devout affection under the *conceived way*, although they really like, and right piously use, our Liturgy yet cannot but have a mindful kindness for the sober use of that other kind of prayer, which hath often affected them; and therefore would not willingly have all exercise thereof precluded or forborn. There are a third sort, much the worst, but vastly the most, who are of our Church, because it's that which is at present uppermost in these Kingdomes, and would be of any that should be so. And of these there are two sorts: The first are men of *Gallio's* temper, *not caring for these things*, not at all concern'd as touching matters of Religion. They esteem it fitting perhaps that some Religion there should

should be in every state, but what kind, is to them no point of moment. Notwithstanding, under our Religion it having been a custome to have a prayer, of the Ministers making or conceivng, before Sermon, many of these very people, purely out of ill nature, would clamour against us, and call us idle, dull, unworthy of what we have, should we lay down, or omit such Useage: As the man said of two Sermons a day, so stand these men for such prayers, *they will have them, not that they care for them, but because their Minister is paid for them*, as they apprehend. Another sort there is of these Temporizers, who are nearer of *Nicodemus* his state, when he first addicted himself to our Lord: in their hearts they have a real kindness for religion, and, had they their wills, they would have another constitution of it than what is publickly settled by law; but it is not their interest, or they have not self-denial or fortitude enough to profess thus much, & therefore they are content to swim with the stream. I dare not say, but amongst these there may be many sincere persons, because

our established Religion, in those very points, which gratify not all mens humours, education or custome, is yet so innocent, that though it do not every way please some mens fancies, yet it can hardly thwart any understanding mans conscience: and therefore acquitting these men from acting against conscience, and onely judging them to suppress some opinion or inclination of more unreasonable affection, I am enforced to conclude there many be sincerity amongst them. Now certain it is, the farr greatest number of these have a great Zeal for conceived prayer, and would not so much comply as they do, should all use thereof be taken away. In summe, of these three sorts of our people, which I have thus given account of, the first it is plain is not indeed by any forbearance of conceived prayer to be lost; but of the second, it may be feared, many would be: and of the third sort, a multitude who are perfect *Nenters* in religion would clamour against us upon such forbearance: and as to the *Nicodemians*, as I may call them, in stead of winning many of them perfectly to us (which may be hoped) we should

should by such meanes make all of them more aduerse, and ready to take parties against us, when ever opportunity should offer.

I ought not to omit, that of those who hold off from our communion, there are many who come in frequently into our congregations, when the service is over, and both diligently heare and well like our sermons: now these people are told by those, who have prejudiced them against, or seduced them from our Church, that one reason of our Ministers using the Commonprayer is because they are carnal men, not haueing true grace, and so destitute of the spirit of prayer, and of those gifts, which themselves and their brethren have: and that because we want them our selves, we would suppress them in others. Now to convince these people of the abominable delusion and cheat, which is put upon them, there can be no more effectual expedient, than the modest exercise of our abilites in this way; whereby it will be evident, that if in conceived prayer men are to speake sense, and what becomes the majesty of God, and this readily,

dily, without hesitancy, drawling, losses, and insignificant canting expletives, the generality of the conformable Clergy can outdo these very leaders in their own magnified way. And it cannot be denied, but that many of their people have been so honest, that when they have discovered such cheats and slanderous pretences as these, they have deserted those their seducers, and returned to the Communion of our Church: yea I perswade my self, there are many kept blindfold still amongst them, of so honest minds, that were they but delivered from this misunderstanding, they would do the like.

S: G. 5.

But here the great question will be, how far the Laws of our Church will bear with what we plead for? Will they, as they stand at present, allow any thing of arbitrary Forms or Conceived prayer, in any case? And if they will not, who then of our Clergy can practice either, with a *Salvo* to his conformity and duty?

In answer hereto, I do acknowledge, that who so peruses and considers the statutes and injunctions of King *Edw: VI*,

or

or Queen *Elizabeth*, will not there find, to the best of my memory, any thing that countenances either. And all favourable interpretation, as far as I can see, which can reasonably be fixt on those Laws, to our purpose, will be to say, that whereas it is thereby ordained, that all Ministers should in their publick ministration use the Forms prescribed, and no other, we are to remember in what times those Laws were made, reflecting on the then state of things; and then the words AND NO OTHER, may be conceived to have been peculiarly intended against the *Romish Missal*, *Breviary*, and *Ritual*, the onely open prayers which in those dayes appeared against our Liturgy: and consequently we may conceive, that whatever Minister, orderly and constantly, uses the Common Prayers of the Church, and, onely in such cases wherein nothing is in strictness peremptorily enjoined, a prayer of his own, conform to the Doctrine of the Church, is not thereby a Transgressor of the Law, in its principal intent and design. But I do not forget that I have spoken some thing already, which may

dily, without hesitancy, drawling, losses, and insignificant canting exp'etives, the generality of the conformable Clergy can outdo these very leaders in their own magnified way. And it cannot be denied, but that many of their people have been so honest, that when they have discovered such cheats and slanderous pretences as these, they have deserted those their seducers, and returned to the Communion of our Church: yea I perswade my self, there are many kept blindfold still amongst them, of so honest minds, that were they but delivered from this misunderstanding, they would do the like.

S:ct. 5.

But here the great question will be, how far the Laws of our Church will bear with what we plead for? Will they, as they stand at present, allow any thing of arbitrary Forms or Conceived prayer, in any case? And if they will not, who then of our Clergy can practice either, with a *Salvo* to his conformity and duty?

In answer hereto, I do acknowledge, that who so peruses and considers the statutes and injunctions of King *Edw: VI*,

or

or Queen *Elizabeth*, will not there find, to the best of my memory, any thing that countenances either. And all favourable interpretation, as far as I can see, which can reasonably be fixt on those Laws, to our purpose, will be to say, that whereas it is thereby ordained, that all Ministers should in their publick ministration use the Forms prescribed, and no other, we are to remember in what times those Laws were made, reflecting on the then state of things; and then the words AND NO OTHER, may be conceived to have been peculiarly intended against the *Romish Missal*, *Breviary*, and *Ritual*, the onely open prayers which in those dayes appeared against our Liturgy: and consequently we may conceive, that whatever Minister, orderly and constantly, uses the Common Prayers of the Church, and, onely in such cases wherein nothing is in strictness peremptorily injoined, a prayer of his own, conform to the Doctrine of the Church, is not thereby a Transgressor of the Law, in its principal intent and design. But I do not forget that I have spoken some thing already, which may

much rebate the force of this interpretation.

Now as to *later Lawes* (though the *later* alwayes, the *more of force* , where there appears any thing of an *Antinomy*) I cannot say there are any such in our Church, wherein it was the intention of the Lawgiver to *allow* the free use of arbitrary Forms, or Conceived prayer, so much as before Sermon. But waving a while the intention of the Lawgiver, if we may stand to the words of a later *Canon* (which shall by me be allowed to be an Ecclesiastical Law) I do judge that interpreting them in a favourable sense, we may find something which gives a *permission* , though possibly not a *plain allowance* to such use as we plead for. And then the *practice* of approved men, and a general *connivance* at this practice, wheresoever it has been soberly and peaceably used , from those whom it has from time to time (so long in a manner as maybe accounted *prescriptive*) concerned to execute the lawes, will make the permission much more considerable. Before I proceed to particular proof, for the prevention of such
cen

censures as I may possibly incur, I will
 guard my self by premitting the words
 of as excellent a person, as it may be,
 most our Church has had of his Order,
 and him a strong Patriot to our Litur-
 gy, Discipline, and Church. "*The*
 "*Church* (saith Reverend Dr. Hammond)
 "being *obeyed* in the observance of the
 "*Prescribed Liturgy* in publick, *permits*
 "sometimes (and, upon special inciden-
 "tal occasions, prescribes) *other Forms*
 "in the *Publick Congregations*, so it be
 "done prudently, piously, reverently,
 "and to edification. And so also in the
 "Family, and in the *Visitation* of the
 "*sick*, if the particular condition of the
 "one or the other require it: and in
 "the *Closet* it is not supposed by our
 "Church, but that everyone may ask
 "his own wants in what form of words
 "he thinks fit. That the Church on *in-*
 "*cidental occasions* prescribes *new forms*,
 is evident by frequent matter of fact,
 but avails not to what we are now con-
 cerned for. That *she permits other*
Forms than the *Liturgy in the publick*
Congregation makes indeed for us, and
 we see it plainly to have been that
 most

Pract.
 Cat.
 Lib: 3.
 Sect. 2.

most pious and religious persons judgments but I am able to see no other passage in our Ecclesiastical laws, on which he could ground it, than the LV Canon of 1603, above insinuated. The title of the Canon is, *The Form of Prayer to be used by Preachers before their Sermon.* Yet in the *body* of the Canon is *no form* of prayer prescribed, except the Lords prayer for conclusion, onely heads set down for bidding of prayer, according to former useage. The words of the Canon are: *Before all Sermons Lectures and Homilies, Preachers and Ministers shall move the People to joyne with them in prayer, in this form, or to this effect, as briefly as conveniently they may. Ye shall pray for the Church, &c. Allwaies concluding with the Lords Prayer.* Now it is plain this Canon is very ambiguous; for it may be either understood of *bidding of prayer* (and as to the manner even of this, it leaves some liberty by those words *in this form or to this effect*) or of a *form of prayer*, which the preacher at his discretion may make, as briefe as conveniently may be,

com.

compriseing the heads mentioned; which form may intervene, betwixt his *moving* (or calling upon) the people to pray, and the Lords prayer, as now the common use of most preachers is. And although the practice of men of greatest note in those dayes may seem to determine the Canon to the former & more primitive custome of *bidding of prayer*, yet if we do not understand the Canon of a *form of Prayer*, the *title* and *body* will not well accord. Upon the whole this ambiguity, & appearance of interfering of one part with the other is so notorious, that it cannot reasonably be judged unseen to the compilers of the Canon; and would seem therefore to have been designed by them, as a prudential kind of temper, for the gratifying all sober and peaceable men, however of a different practice in this point: For it is evident that the bidding of prayer, which most seems to be the thing injoynd, is yet so injoynd, as that the framing a prayer on such and such heads (which was then become an usual practice) is not forbidden or censured, but rather, in the wording of the title and Canon, a con-

niveance thereat insinuated. And this seemes the more probable to have been the Churches intention, for that in the Convocation held in the year 1640 it was proposed, that a short forme of prayer should be drawn up, compriseing the materialls specified in the Canon, which every Minister should use before his Sermon. And though such a form was prepared, and there was great confidence that it would have been universally received, yet the excellent Archbishop, President of the Convocation, putt a stop thereto in all likelyhood conceiveing it fitter, tacitly to leave Preachers to their own discretion in this behalfe, than to make a new Canon contrariant to the old use, and former Kings and Queens injunctions.

In the Office of the *Visitation* of the sick, the exhortatory part indeed is expressly left in a great measure to the ministers discretion. The words of the Rubrick are, and all along have been, *The Minister shall exhort the sick person in this form, or other like:* which words, *in this form or other like*, whether they may not, in equity and by parity of reason, be

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extended to certain ensuing forms of prayer, ought to be considered. Sure it is, the dealing with the sick persons conscience is afterwards wholly left, as to matter of expression, to the Ministers prudence, some, & but some, materials onely being suggested, and no form prescribed. And from hence it seems but a natural consequent, that it is free for the minister, as he sees occasion, and finds the sick mans condition to require, to enlarge or vary the prayers. These are the utmost grounds, besides the observation of approved mens practice, which I can find for that reverend Doctors judgment. At least, this is the utmost of what I have, to say touching any favour or permission, which our Ecclesiastical laws give to any other publick prayers, besides those prescribed in the Liturgy, in any case whatsoever.

If it be said, Permission or Connivance, concluded from such favourable interpretation of laws, and from some mens practice (though approved persons) is not sufficient to justify so generally irregular a practice as this is acknowledged to be, I say, it is not now so irre-

gular as it was fifty or threescore yeares ago; (*Consuetudo loci est lex loci*) The state of things is much altered, the inconveniencies of it, as it is pleaded for, cannot be considerable, if any, and the mischiefs arising from the forbearance of it would be intolerable. And I could further tell those, who most rigorously dissent from me, a thing in their ear, that there is another practice as general, publick and irregular, as what I urge or design, which they both allow, and daily join in, and dare not in their ordinary Congregations break off, neglect, or intermit, notwithstanding it hath no more, from authority, and perhaps never had, than bare permission or connivance, for its justification. It is said indeed in the Title-page of the *English Psalms* put into *Metre* by T. S. J. H. and others, that they were *set forth and allowed to be sung of all the people* in our publick Congregations. But it is not specified, by whom they were allowed; and as to all Approbation or Allowance from tolerable Authority, those who have diligently searched after any possible foot-steps of it, could never yet find
any,

any, and are very confident there never was any. But of this haply more elsewhere. However here is a precedent of a practice as obnoxious, as this I plead for, which passes, and is like to pass, current amongst us all. Let not them therefore implead one another, whom the same cause joins.

sec. 6.

And now I should not think it difficult for any to collect, what I judge the utmost that may be done in the case of any Conceived prayer, or Forms of our own, without disobedience to the Laws of the Church: However I will speak it out with the freedome and ingenuity I promised. I account then, that the reasons, above laid down, may make it necessary to use with prudence, sobriety, and submission to our Superiours, all the liberty which is left us: and, it being permitted to us, as would seem by what has been said, either to bid prayer before Sermon, or to comprise those heads, in the Canon suggested, in a prayer of our own, ending with the Lords Prayer, it can be no more a transgression of the Law commonly to vary our Forms, than it is simply to use a Form of our own

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private composures for that every Form so varied is still supposed such. Now it cannot be denied, but that since the Conceived way has been so magnified and cried up, a multitude of persons of worth having exercised themselves much therein, it is come to a very considerable maturity and perfection. *Many have run to and fro, and knowledge, or expertness in this case, is increased.* As to those therefore who are masters of such faculty of speech, if *before* their *Sermons*, and sometimes in the *Visitation of the sick*, when any particularity of the Patients condition requires it, they do, upon some thought, employ that their ability, and thereby accommodate their prayers as closely as they can, with due modesty, gravity & reverence to particular emergencies and circumstances, I say (to speak in the Apostles language in another case) *I suppose it is good for the present necessity*: nor can I see any disobedience therein, except we should conceive some more particular restraint laid on such persons by their Superiours, than that which the Canon hath imposed. If it be said, that the practice of conceived Prayer,

Prayer, or such new varied Forms, will bring the Liturgy into contempt or flight, and so that indirectly and by consequence it is at once a transgression of all the Laws which prescribe the use of the Liturgy, and due reverence thereto, I answer by utter denying, that such moderate, discreet, and sober practice, as I have pleaded for, will ordinarily have such effect, and I have possibly some poor experience to the contrary. It will rather prove a grateful variety, adding new spirit and heat to the devotions of the multitude, adorning and setting forth the *Offerings of God's* point worthy our most serious zeal and study. Many possibly, that are scorers, will be scorers still: but this will tend rather to diminish, than encrease, the number.

I am very sensible how obnoxious to *scd, 7.* censure these my concessions of the three or four last sections are, how unexpected and surprizing they may prove to any who have perused and considered the former discourse, and its purport. It may reasonably seem strange, that after evidence given touching the *Vanity* of

of the common pretences to the *Gift* of prayer, touching diverse inconveniences and the *Novelty* of the practice, as also the *irregular methods* by which it has prevailed, I should in any measure act the part of an advocate for the permission or continuance of such practice. But *I* desire all such, who are apt to take offence at what I have now said, to consider, in what way I have pleaded for it; not for the sole and unlimited exercise of it at that rate, as it was, and still is by some practiced, but so regulated, as that the main inconveniences, thereof are avoided; not as coordinate with, much less in opposition to, the Church Liturgy, but onely as subservient thereto, and as *I* judge such sober and prudent exercise thereof a mean to reconcile many good minded people to our ministry and Church. All wise men know, that amongst the multitude, what is best and most orderly is not alwayes most acceptable, nor can be solely prevailed for. I never can think much on such cases as this, but that of the Stoick presently runs in my head.

Ὅστις δ' ἀνάγκῃ συγκαχώμεθα χαλῶς,
Συμὴ πρὸς ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ θεῖα ἐνίσταται.

Epiſte
ex Eu-
ripid.

*Who to Neceſſity does fairly yield,
'Mongſt men is wiſe, in Gods mind
beſt is ſkilld.*

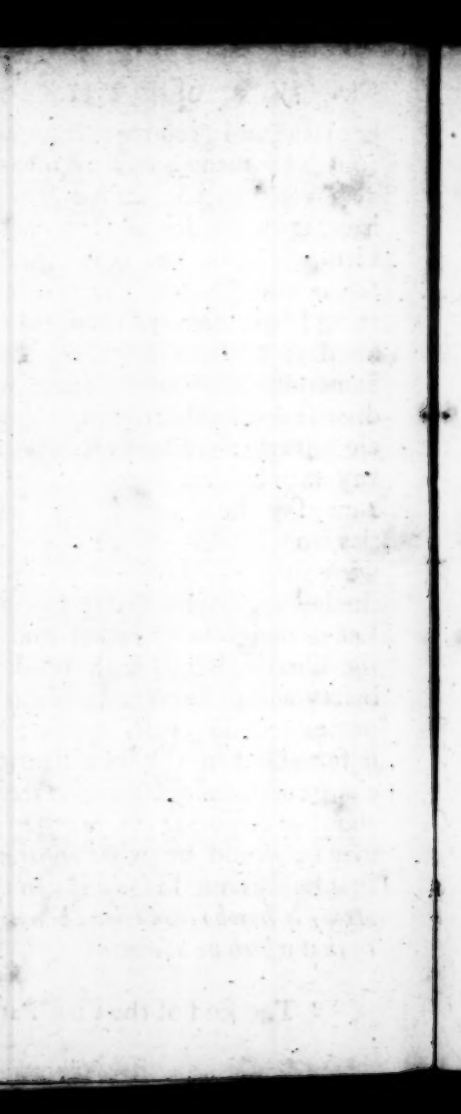
How far this is applicable to our pre-
ſent caſe, I leave to better judgments
definitively to conclude, haveing, I hope
with ſubmiſſion enough, ſpoken mine
own thoughts. I have no intereſt of
mine own in what I write: I have long
ſince ſacrificed all that to God and his
Church. In what I have ſpoken I
deſigned the Publick good: It is
poſſibly a weakneſſe in me to think I
could contribute thereto; but in my
place I am obliged to endeavour
what I can. He that ſhall ſay, that un-
der our preſent ſettlement all, that is
eſtabliſht, is abſolutely the beſt, and no-
thing can be amended, ſaies more than
our Church does, and has a difficult proof
lies on him. There is ſomething, ſaith
ſhe, *which is yet to be wiſht*: and 'tis
ſufficient to ſay what is eſtabliſht, is as
well as for the time it could be. I have
the ſame plea to enter for what I have

Office
of com-
minat.

yielded to the present *Genius* of the age. People will not be perswaded, but that in these days they stand upon the shoulders of all who have lived before them, as they commonly say. For knowledge, parts and judgment, they will give place to none, but the inspired times; and 'tis well if, in all things, they will yield thereto. To shew them what those gifts are in truth, which they pretend to, is one way to make them sober: this I have honestly endeavoured. To deny any use of them, is to make our selves, in their judgment, mad or obstinate; and for us to pretend to be without them (or which is the same, to give no instances of them) is to draw upon our selves the censure of being scandalously unfit for the places we fill: Both these, as rockes, I have endeavoured to decline, I conclude: *In secret*, let every one use such words as most incite or help his devotion (that being the sole intent of words in such prayer) or let him forbear any, if he perceives them to distract him. This has ever been the doctrine of the Church, and is ours. In *Publick*, who well considers what has been

been said, will preferre mature and well contrived forms, such as *I* may confidently say our Church has provided us, haveing far outdon all Churches, whose Liturgies *I* ever yet saw. And *where-soever* the Church has permitted any thing to our *Liberty*, let no private person dare to draw the reines straighter. Something of Variety there will be in diverse mens ministration, as long as men are diverse: and *I* cannot tell whether any man be ever so accomplit, as that *I* may say, he is happy who never varies from himself. Not to be content with such an Uniformity, as answers the law, is to be so far Nonconform. Let us therefore all rather study to use the liberty left us with prudence, sobriety, and all sweetnesse of charity and peaceablenesse, each approveing himselfe to God in the conscientious discharge of the ministry committed to him, and not censuring his brother, who it may be would be what another is, but that he sees not so far and cannot. And *Happy is he who condemneth not himself in that which he alloweth.*

The End of the First Part.



OF THE
G I F T
AND
D U T Y
OF
S I N G I N G
TO G O D.

Ψαλῷ τῷ πνεύματι, ψαλῷ ᾧ τῷ νοῖ. 1 Cor. 14. 15.

*Ὡς ὁ ἁγίος ἐπιτίσας τῷ διδασκάλῳ, ἵμῳ τοῦ ἁδεν ἡμᾶς, ἐν τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ μαρτυροῦν μακαρισμῶν. St. Basil. in Pf.

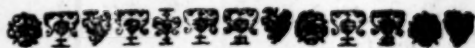
*Ἀγα μοι ψυχὰ, ἱερῆς ὕμνους

*Ἐπιβαλλομένη τῷ λαῷ

*Εὐτασθὲν δις τρις.

Synef. Hymn. 3.

D U B L I N,
Printed Anno Dom. M. DC. LXXVI.



OF THE
G I F T
AND
D U T Y
OF
S I N G I N G
To GOD.

C H A P. I.

Sect. 1. What is out of Controversie on this subject. Sect. 2. The Points to be resolved in this Discourse. Sect. 3. How the inspired Church was qualified for this duty. Sect. 4. What the spiritual gift of singing, mentioned 1 Cor. XIV, 15, was. Sect. 5. What spiritual Songs, Psalms and Hymns. Sect. 6. What Rules laid down by the then inspired Authors for performance in this kind. Sect. 7.

Sect. 7. *What the melody of the heart.*

Sect. 8. *A monition to be serious in this matter.*

Sect. 1.

BEsides the addresses, which we owe to God, by way of suit, for the obtaining what we want, that there are others due as well in return of gratitude for the Good things we receive, as in acknowledgment of his infinite Majesty, glory, and absolute perfection, scarce requires proof. These addresses we commonly call the *Praises of God*. Now whether Nature first taught, or God by secret instinct, or otherwise, directed the rational part of his creation to offer them up in words fitted to melody, and melodiously uttered, cannot perhaps be precisely decided: certain it is that *singing to God* was one of the *first acts of worship* paid him by any of his creatures. When God was now laying the foundations of the earth, *The morning starres sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy.* Job: XXXVIII. 7. If by the *Morning Starres* we are not to understand the Angels (as to me seems most probable, both

both for that the earth was founded before the creation of the Starres (Gen: I) and because the like appellation is given to some of the angels (Isai: XIV, 12.) yet by the sons of God here, as well as ch: I.6, we can understand no other. It would seem therefore, that while the Glorious Creatour framed the Visible world, the elder part of his work, the invisible creation, sung his praise: and that which most imployed them herein, in all probability was, the infinite perfection, power, wisdom and goodnesse of God, which displayed it selfe in his handy work. How angels *speak* or *sing*, none below an Angel can tell. We can therefore hence take no farther direction, for regulateing our practice, than this, that we are to *praise* God for his *absolute excellence* & perfection, however discovered by us; according to that of the Royal prophet, *Praise him according to his excellent greatnesse.* P.C.L.

That all the generations of the old world were silent in the divine praise, the honour & charity we owe them will not suffer us to think, though in what manner they set it forth, we cannot say. It is

not incredible that he who first found out *Musick*, and taught men to *handle the Harp and the Organ*, contained not himselfe long after the invention, but in joy and gratitude tuned them to the praise of the inspirer. But the next instance, as far as yet I can observe, of praise sung to God, is in the case of the *Israelites* having passed the Red sea. The great subject of their song, was Gods miraculous mercies to them, and his no less mighty judgments on their Enemies. And here 'tis certain, they both sung in parts, and added instruments to their song, *Exod. XV. 1, 2, 20, 21*. And since that time, *singing* Gods praise has in no age of the Church been disused. Before this indeed, mankind may seem in a great measure to have contented themselves in paying their homage and gratitude by sacrifice, *Gen. IV. 3, 4.* and *VIII. 20, &c.* We may not, as I conceive, say, the Patriarchs were all along silent at their sacrifices: however, we are sure, since the constitution of the Church under *Moses* dumb sacrifices have not been usual.

That therefore in the publick assemblies

blies of Christians for the Divine Wor^{sh}ip, *Singing praises* to God and Christ, ought to take up a considerable part of the Common Service, I presume no sober person will question or gainsay. That also we ought to praise God, as well for his own intrinseck worth and glory, as for the benefits which we personally, or the Church, and Mankind in general, receive at his hands is no less certain: That further, from the very infancy of Christianity to the present days, such practice has been constantly continued in the Church, though not only the particular forms of Hymns, but the modes and adjuncts of singing them, have been very different, according to the different state of Religion and the Church, and the gradual advances of art, will be as easily admitted. That finally the inward manner of singing, the *Melody of the heart*, that devout affection and frame of soul, which ought inseparably to accompany all our singing, and without which no voice or sound can be pleasing in the ears of God, is most to be attended and provided for, is together with what yet said,

matter of general accord.

Sect. 2.

But the duty at large being thus soon concluded, it is not so easie to set down, beyond contradiction, due Rules for the best kind of performing it, or to define what particular manner of it is together most acceptable to God, and most conducing to the edification of the faithfull. There may reasonably be conceived doubts touching the subject matter or argument of what is to be sung, whether meer scripture, or also Hymnes of humane composition; then touching the form of words, whether metrical or plain prose; again touching the very manner of singing, whether onely with the voice or with conjunction thereof with Musical instruments, as is our present Church-usage. In all these points and such other, it is necessary it should be stated, as certainly as we can, what is the best and fittest use, at least what is lawful and proper to the Christian state, as well for the satisfaction of mens consciences, as for their direction in this their common duty. And for resolution in all these, I shall direct distinct enquiries unto the

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ensueing heads. 1. What was the practice in the *inspired Church* ? How the faithful then were qualified for this duty, and what rules are laid down by the inspired authours for its performance ?

2. Wherein the *Melody* of the heart, spoken of by the Apostle, consisteth ? The point, which is mainly regarded by God and to be heeded by us. 3. What has, since the inspired daies, been all along the practice of the Church ? And under this head, what in several ages has been the growth & progresse of Church Musick. 4. Whether the present practice of our Church may be justified by the forementioned authorities ? 5. What may be done for the manageing this our present practice to the most spiritual advantage ? In answer to all which I shall endeavour to carry the same temper, which I maintained in the former discourse ; and therefore beseech my reader, abandoning all interest, prejudice, and partiality, freely to attend my reasonings, and weigh their force, I haveing, as most sincerely I can avow, no greater design than the promoting serious piety, truth and peace.

Sect. 3.

In order to the takeing a full view of the Practice of the *Inspired age* (which was the first point to be enquired into) it will be requisite to consider two things, as above insinuated. First how the faithful of those daies were qualified for the performance of this duty, being most of them plain and unletterd people ; and and then what rules those , who were certainly inspired men have given for management of such qualifications or endowments , which are in those daies supposed to have been bestowed on the faithful. For according to these two certainly was the practice.

As to the Former of these : We have above said, God has in no age been wanting to his Church ; and what any age has not had by ordinary means, he has supplied in an extraordinary course. When therefore the generality of the faithful were not qualified with abilities, got in the common way, for the inditing of the divine praise, it pleased God, amongst other miraculous gifts of the spirit , which he poured out on his Church , to infuse into many a spiritual gift facilitateing them in the perform.
ance

ance of this part of the divine worship, and supplying them both with matter & words, & these too in due form for the praise of God. Thus much we understand by St. Paul. (1. Cor. XI V, 15. *I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also* : which words, by what has been said in the former discourse, it is evident, must be understood of a spiritual gift, nor will they admit naturally any other sense. In those daies therefore, as there were inspired prayers, forms as it were dictated to the Faithful by the spirit, so were there also inspired Hymnes or Psalms: they *sung with the spirit*.

Now as to this *spiritual Gift of singing*, thus miraculously infused, what must it be? Shall we say, skill in song, or the art of musick was inspired into the primitive Christians by the Holy Ghost? I will acknowledge Musick indeed an accomplishment worthy of the Holy Ghost for its author, fitt to come from heaven, both for its sweetness and its power. And if Bezaleel and Aholiab are said to be *filled with the Spirit of God* in respect of those meaner mechanical arts,

Sect. 4.

arts, in which they were so skillful, much more justly might we conceive the first *sweet singers* in the Christian *Israel* inspired even in regard of their melodious concert. But this was not the Apostles intention: For by his opposing *Singing with*, or by, the *Spirit*, to *singing with the understanding*, so that he who sung in his sense meerly *with the spirit*, did not also sing *with the understanding* that is (as before said in the case of like prayer) did not *distinctly* understand what he sung, it is plain the spiritual gift here meant must be such, as furnished or supplied what was sung. And this is further evident, from the 26th. verse. *How is it then Brethren* saith the Apostles *When ye come together Every one of you* [inspired persons] *hath a Psalm, hath a doctrine, &c.* That, which was the particular product or effect of the Gift of *singing*, was a *Psalm* a new, and by virtue of this gift, conceived (as that, which was the product of the gift of *Teaching*, was a *doctrine*, or discourse for the instruction of the hearers) and that *Psalm* inspired, not so much as to any meer musical utterance or singing of

of it, as to its substance and musical Form. What was thus by the spirit uttered, as to its *substance* and sense, contained the praise of God and *Christ*; and as to its *Form*, it was *fit to be sung*: and, upon the whole, was therefore a *Christian Psalm*; which the same Apostle, as I conceive, elsewhere calls a *Spiritual song*, because thus immediately proceeding from supernaturall inspiration.

Shall we then now conclude, we have the due notion of the spiritual gift of singing, or of *singing by the spirit*? Surely for the main we have: it is a kind of *inspired Poësie*. But yet particularly in the place mentioned, it is certain the Apostle designed a stricter acceptation of the phrase, than what has yet been delivered, according as has been above made out touching the same Text, as a part of it relates to prayer. For, as already noted, *singing with the spirit* being opposed to *singing with the understanding*, it must follow that the Psalm, or Holy Song, conceived by such gift, was conceived in an unknown Tongue, and that in some measure unknown to

the very person who uttered it. Not but that such persons knew, in the general, what they were employed in, when they thus sung, and might possibly have some confused sense of the main drift or import of what the spirit moved them to utter, which sense might raise much holy zeal and fervour of divine love, with many other acts of Christian Graces in them (in respect of which the Apostle saith, such persons speaking thus in an unknown Tongue edified themselves, *ver. 4.* though he suppose them still so far ignorant of the Tongue they spoke in, as that they could not utter, what they thus said, in their Mother Tongue, that is, could not *interpret, ver. 13, 14, &c.*) but a distinct notion of each sentence and word of such Psalm, by this spiritual gift thus uttered, it is plain by the Apostles whole scope they wanted (whatsoever some learned men say to the contrary) as will appear to any, who shall duly consider the Apostles discourse there, and compare therewith the interpretation of it, by me here and above given. *Singing then with the spirit* there signifies in strictness,

an

I am apt to think

an inspired faculty of some sort of Divine Poetry, even in strange and different Tongues.

But although those particular *Corinthians*, of whom the Apostle there speaks, had this gift onely in strange Languages, it will not follow that it was ever thus confined or Eclipsed. There were certainly others, both of that and other Churches, who by a spiritual gift were able to sing in their own Tongue, and did so, *as the spirit gave them utterance.*

And in this sense, the *Spirit of singing*, or inditing the divine praise, was not then altogether a new thing. For though it had been some time discontinued, from the cessation of Prophets, yet before that cessation it had been conspicuous enough in the Church. By virtue of the inspiration hereof at some extraordinary seasons, several more eminent Saints have conceived the divine praise in most lofty and divine Forms, uttered upon the sudden as the occasion required; which could not have been done, so elegantly and exquisitely, without an immediate *afflatus* or breathing of the Holy Ghost. Of this Origin, and no
 Ec 2 other,

other, are all those Hymns on several incidental occasions in the Old Testament. To omit other instances: when *Hanna* had obtained the mercy she praid for, and brought the son of her prayers to present him to the Lord in *shiloh*, whereas the Scripture text saith onely *she prayed and said*, the *Targum* paraphrases it וְלִיאָרַת הַנֶּה בְּרוּחַ נְבוּאָה And *Hannah prayed with* (or by) *the spirit of prophesie*. Now what follows of *Hannah's* devotion being purely matter of praise, and not one petition, or any thing of prayer strictly so called, in it, it is plain the word *praying* must be taken in its amplest extent, for *invoking* God in general, or directing any act of Worship with the voice unto him, in which acception it evidently comprehends *praising God*. Hereby then it appears, that the old Jewish Church conceived the spirit of prophesie to be so universal a gift or inspiration, as amongst other offices to fit and enable them who had it, for the ready inditing and *singing* the Divine praise. And we have the same expressi-
on, more than once in the undoubted Canon of Scripture: particularly touch-
ing

ing *Zacharias*, on an occasion like to that of *Hanna's*, *Luke I. 67.* And *Zacharias* was filled with the Holy Ghost, and prophesied, saying, *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath visited and redeemed his people. And &c.* where prophesying must needs signifie his extraordinary forming and uttering that inspired Hymn; and his being filled with the Holy Ghost, the inspiration which enabled him thereto. Proportionably also to this sense, are to be understood those Texts in the Old Testament, where we read of particular persons at certain times, prophesying to the Psaltery, and Tabret, and Pipe, *1 Sam. X. 5.* *Thou shalt meet a company of prophets coming down from the high place, with a Psaltery, and a Tabret, and a Pipe, and an Harp before them, and they shall prophesie. And the spirit of the Lord shall come upon thee, and thou shalt prophesie also.* Yet shall all, by extraordinary spirit, sing the divine praise in inspired Form. Thus too, when God took of the spirit which was on *Moses*, and put it on the seventy Elders, *Numb. XI. 25.* it came to pass when the spirit rested on them, they prophesied.

And to name no more places, 1 *Chron.* XXV. 1. *David separated certain of the sons of Asaph, and of Heman, and of Jeduthun, who should prophesie with Harps, with Psalteries and Cymbals.* By these and several other passages, that might be alledged, it is plain that there was, in the ancient inspired times of the Jewish Church, a certain *spiritual* gift enabling those particular persons who had it, at such times as they had it, to indite, utter and sing the *praise* of God, and that so, as to be understood and taken notice of by all who heard them.

Wherefore the former and more general notion, though it is not more proper to that Text of *St. Paul*, yet is more proper to the nature of the thing. The gift of singing then, in its true latitude, was I say a kind of *inspired divine Poesie*, taking here *Poesie* for a *Poetical faculty*.

This possibly may, if not offend some, who are as unmerciful to Poetry, as *Plato* was to Poets, yet not be readily received by all others. For it may seem reasonable, that as the first Christian singing was little else but an harmonious plain pronounciation, so their Christian songs

songs or Psalms, were plain prose, & wanted all Poetical form. In answer whereto I say, that however it is not impossible, that there may be some men of such an odd natural temper, as to be neither delighted with Poetry nor Musick, yet it is most certain the spirit of God is no such enemy to either, both of them haveing proceeded thence, and been conducted thereby. As to Musick more anon in a more proper place: our present discourse is more concern'd touching Poetry. Now that the praises of God were conceived in Poetical form, by the direction and inspiration of the Holy Ghost, under the old testament, is beyond denial. How much soever is lost as to the knowledge of the old *Hebrew* Poesy, we are sure we have thus much skill therein, still left, as that we are able to distinguish betwixt the *Hebrew* Verse and Prose. And we are sure particularly, that whereas the one and thirty first Chapters of *Deuteronomy* are writ in *Prose*, the two and thirtieth chapter, to the forty third verse, inclusively, that is the whole song of *Moses*, is writ in *Verse*; and yet these forty three
verses

verses, though strictly a Poem, are no less scripture, or of the Holy Ghosts inditeing, than is the rest of the book which is Prose. The same have we to say touching the Song of the *Israelites*, *Exod. XV.* the Book of Psalms, and other parts of the old Testament. Now where is the inconvenience in admitting, that the same Holy Spirit, which under the old Testament inspired the praises of God for the publick use of the Church in Poeticall form, might also do the same under the Gospel state? Especially when this *Ministration was to exceed in Glory*, and that glory to consist in nothings more, than the more liberal effusion of the Holy Ghost. Nay, if we may take words to signifie in scripture, what they signify every where, in common Authours and by common consent, it is sure, the praises of God were, under the Christian state, thus inspired; and the gift, which we are now treating of, inabled men, otherwise than by inspiration unskillful, thus to indite them.

2 Cor.
III. 9.

Señ 5.

We find, in two of St. Pauls Epistles, three several terms relateing, as it would seem, to those praises of God, which the pri-

primitive Christians used to offer : And both for the further clearing this spiritual gift, & for the makeing good what I have just now determined, it will be necessary to consider the import of each. The terms are in both places set down in the same order thus, *Psalmes and Hymnes and Spiritual songs*. Whether these terms are synonymous, and may signifie there much the same thing, some may question : but most interpreters conceive them diverse. I do not deny but in many places of scripture, they, as other words different in their strict notions but agreeing in their common ones, may be used promiscuously. Thus I have already said a *Spiritual song* is called (1. Cor. XIV. 26.) a *Psalm* : and probably a *Psalm* (Mat: XXV, 30) is called an *Hymn*, viz. by reason of that common nature, wherein they agree : but the Apostle, in those two places mentioned, seeming to enumerate, or particularise, all the several forms of divine praise then in use, it will be most proper there to take them under different, and each in their strict notions ; though what those are, in so great variety of Glosses, as we may find on

this subject, is not easie to resolve, beyond the contradiction of such, who stand affected to scruple or cavils. To proceed as surely as I can, I will first consider the common and agreed import of these words in our ordinary Books, and then what peculiar notion Scripture superadds to each.

The most general of all those terms, in absolute nature, I take to be the word *Song*, in *Greek* ^{ὕμνη} (which we have made *English*, commonly an *Ode*) now an *Ode* hath ever been esteemed to be of Poetical form, and comes as all know, immediately from the verb *ᾄδω* or ^{ᾄδω} to *sing*; which the Poets claim to themselves, as their proper, and in a manner specific, act: and are from thence almost as commonly called ^{ᾄδοντες} *singers* (because compilers of Songs) as Poets. It is truly observed by that great Critick in this kind, that there is no word so small, which admits not some *mode of quality and quantity*. Its *quality* lies in an aptitude for a *flat or sharp sound*: its *quantity*, in the *time or duration of its pronunciation*. Both these make it fit for Musick. Now the disposing words and
sen

Scalig.
Poetic.
lib. 1.
c. 2.

sentences according to such fitness into harmony, by certain numbers and laws, is that which we call making *Verses*: and several such Verses artificially put together we call a *Song*.

The word *Psalm* signifies such a Song not meerly as it has in it harmony, or an aptitude to be sung, but as it is either designed, or actually sung, to some Musical instrument. And thus much is commonly agreed, and must be concluded from the Etymology of the word, and the import of its Original *ψάλλω* exactly answering to the Hebrew *זמר*, of both which more anon. Now each of these terms, Song and Psalm, in their own nature are indifferent, or not determined to any sort of subject matter, holy or common, sad, joyful or moral.

Contrarily, an *Hymn* properly is a Song or Psalm in the praise of some true or reputed God. For that distinction of *Theophylasts* will not hold water, that Psalms and Songs are of *Men*, Hymnes onely of *Angels*. We know *Homer*, *Orpheus*, *Callimachus*, and divers others writ *Hymns*, who never dreamt of *Angels* singing: and the name *Hymn* is fre-

quently in Scripture attributed to the praises given to God by men, not at all, that I have observed, to those by Angels. From any *Origination* of this word I can collect little or nothing. The Grammarians derive it from *ὦδῶ* and that, being of small use if any, is as much saith *Hesychius* as *ὦδῶ*, and at this rate an Hymn and an Ode, or song, would be perfectly of the same import, but that use has taken the one in a common, the other onely in a sacred sense. However it is certain *ὕμνος* is as much as *ὦδῶ* and as frequently, used to signify a Poet; as also *ὕμνισι* for *ὠδαῖς*. So that the result of the whole will be, *Songs* (or *Odes*) *Psalmes* and *Hymnes*, all three of them, were wont, according to the common use of the words, to be compositions writt in Poetical form.

We will now examin what scripture has superadded to the common notions of these words. In the places above mentioned, to the words *Songs* is added *Spiritual*. This, say Commentatours, is in opposition to the lewd and lascivious songs, which were the great entertainment of heathen mirth, It may be so: but:
 though

though there appear some colour for the Antichesis in the immediate context, *Eph. V*, yet none in *Coloss: III*: and the form of speech so neerly agreeing in both, I rather incline to interpret *Spiritual songs*, as before insinuated, of songs indited by the Holy Ghost in the praise of God and Christ, and uttered by virtue of a peculiar spiritual Gift, according to the passage of St. Paul to the *Corinthians* so fully, I presume, cleared. But Notwithstanding all, if they were spiritual songs in any sense, they were songs still, and therefore according to the common import of the word, which we cannot say scripture hath varied, indited in some Poetical form. As to the term *Psalms*, I am able to observe little or no addition to it, or variation of it in scripture from that its common notion before delivered, saveing onely that it is in scripture alwayes used in an holy sense. It certainly signifies in the old testament Hymnes designed to be used with instrumental musick: and in the new it is conceived, and that with great reasons, to have a particular reference to the book of *Psalms*. Thus when our Lord with his

Mat.
XXVI.
30.

Paul.
Brug.
on pja.
112. as
be rec-
kons
Camer.
in Mat.
26.
Monta.
Tr.
Light-
foot;
&c.

disciples, after his last supper, at the Feast of the Passeeover, is said to have sung an Hymn, it is generally thought by learned men, that as he took^d the very Elements of his Supper, and the Form of Benediction, together with the Rites of Administration in a great part, from the Jewish useage in the Passeeover, so he used the same Psalms with them, the Great Hallelujah, as they call the CXIII, and the five following Psalmes. Nor do I see any inconvenience of interpreting these two passages of S. Paul & that of St. James, Ch. V. (in all which Christian men are enjoined to speak to, admonish, and sing with one another in Psalmes) of the Book of Psalms chiefly or especially. However, that the notion above given is to be affixt to the term *Psalmes*, even in the New Testament, I could

both Antient & modern of mi dicuntur eximia illa carmina Davidis & aliorum, quæ in Templo citharis & Nalliis aptari solebant, Gror. in Ephes. 5. 19. Psalmus, concisum & numeris distinctum carmen. Propriè refertur ad instrumenta, notatque modulationes artificiosas certis casuris & numeris incisa. Gualpt. ad

ad eund. loc. *Psalmus, in quo concinendo adhibetur musicum aliquod instrumentum præter linguam* Calvin in Col: 3. 16. And to omit the rest, of our men, To the same purpose speak *Estius* and the better sort of the Romish commentators.

The Scripture Notion of *Hymnes* is yet behind : and though I do not remember my self to have ever met with any *Hymnes* in profane Authours, but what were writ in verse, properly so called, yet it must be acknowledged otherwise in the Holy Writings. To the nature of a Scripture-Hymn, it is sufficient that it contain the praises of God, however indited, whether in verse or in prose. And indeed it may be observed amongst the very Heathens, that though most of their *Hymnes* now extant are writ in strict verse, observing usual measures and numbers, yet they had a freer sort of Poetry, called *Dithyrambick*, wherein sometimes they used to celebrate the acts and natures of their Gods. This some, who kept to severer laws themselves, conceived to neglect all laws : and particularly *Horace* himself doubted not to say of *Pindar*,
wri

writing in this kind,

Carm.
Lib. 4.
Od: 2.

—per audaces nova Dithyrambos
Verba devolvit, numerisq; fertur
Lege solutis.

Cicer:
de Ora-
tor: lib:
3.

But the judgment of the Oratour touching this way, to me seems much the truer and juster; that it is onely *Licentior & Divitior*, of more daring freedome, and richer, as consisting of (*numeris procerioribus*) loftier, and as it were taller, feet or numbers, than common verse: but yet certainly it is no less Poetry than the strictest kind of Verse. Now of this kind of Poetry may those Hymns in the Old Testament be, which some learned men, will scarce admit to be verse, because they say they are *nullis numeris astricta*. Such, as near as can be discerned, do I avow the *Hymn* of *Deborah*, of which particularly amongst others, the forementioned judgment has been passed. It has a very artificial, figurate, sublime & flourishing vein runs through it wholly; and each strain is melodious. The song of *Hannah*, alike censured, (*1 Sam. II.*) is indeed according to due

Grot.in
Mat:
26:30:

De-

Decorum, more humble; but if there be any verse in the Original Text, truly verse, though of somewhat a freer sort than some other. And indeed with the Hebrews of old (whatsoever St. Hierom and Isidorus Hispalensis of the Ancients, and Gomarus, and possibly some other Moderns, have fancied touching *Dactyls* and *Spondees*, and such regular feet in the Hebrew Poetry, and measuring verse in Scripture into such feet, which whose tries, will scarce find to succeed once in five hundred times, whatsoever I say is spoken touching such imaginary strict Hebrew measures) in the general, their poetry lay mostly in the character of speech, as we call it: they regarded the couplings, or number and harmony of clauses, one answering another, together with little repeats, rather than any precise number of syllables or cadencies of Rhythme. Their Poetical style or character is well described, by the Worthy Buxtorf, to have been (*Diversum ab aliis libris, concisum scilicet & brevis, bus membris conclusum, sublime, allegoricum, hyperbolicum, & quibuslibet figurarum luminibus illustre*) "Far different

In pro-
log. ad
Job.
Orig. l.
1. c. 38.
Davidis
Lyra.

Intra-
stat. de
Profo-
Metric.

"from the style of their common books,
 "as being concise, confined in short
 "clauses, lofty, *allegorical* or full
 "of allusions, *hyperbolical* expressing
 "things above their plain state, and
 "glorious with all variety of ornamen-
 "tal figures and repetitions. And as
 to any chiming of *Rhythms*, which the
 modern *Hebrews* now so much affect in
 the *verses* they write, the same industri-
 ous Authour truly says, (*Non alius cu-
 ratus fuit, quàm qui suâ sponte prodiret,
 & fortuito incideret, non autem studio
 elaborato videretur accersitus; quod non
 rarò etiam Davidi imprimis accidisse ani-
 mo advertimus*) "There was none looked
 "after by the Ancients, but what offe-
 "red it self of its own accord, and fell
 "in as by accident, and which could
 "not seem drawn in by study, or
 "thoughtful design: which success we
 "may observe *David* (the sweet singer
 of *Israel*) "to have had most frequent-
 "ly of any of the sacred Poets. Now
 this being admitted to have been the
 genuine nature and constitution of the
 old *Hebrew Poetry*, as I am sure it is,
 I may safely conclude there is not one
 Hymn

Ibid.

Hymn in the Old Testament, which is not indited by the Holy Ghost in Poetical form. As to those in the New, the Hymns of the Blessed *Mary*, of *Zacharias*, and of *Simeon*, it is sure we have them not in their Originals, (for they were undoubtedly uttered in *Hebrew*, at least in some Dialect thereof, however they come to us in *Greek*) and therefore we cannot make so exact a judgement of them. Only this we may say: that even in the *Greek* appears something of the *Hebrews* Poetical character of speech, before described: and let any one compare the *Magnificat* with *Hanna's* Song, and he will soon say, the frame and style of both is so like, that as the one, being in *Hebrew*, is verse, so would the other be also, were it in that language; and consequently, that in all probability it was at first Poetically indited. And the same in proportion, may as reasonably be concluded of the other. That address of the Church (*Acts* IV. 24,) which the Learned *Grotius* reckons amongst the New-Testament-hymns, I do not see how to make an Hymn of, there being not one strain

In Mat.
25.

in it properly laudatory ; but it is only an occasional prayer , indited indeed I confess by the Holy Ghost ; and so an instance of inspired prayers , as those above mentioned are instances of inspired Hymns. Those Hymns in the *Revelation* , which St. *John* heard sung by the Heavenly inhabitants , are confessedly prose , though in what form or language he heard them , or conceived himself to hear them , we cannot speak. However therefore in regard as well of them , as of the *Magnificat* , *Benedictus* and the *Nunc dimittis* , and of other such (if there be any other) Hymns in the New Testament , I have said , it is sufficient to the constitution of a Scripture-hymn , that it contain the praise of God , in what form soever it be composed.

In summe , it appearing by what I have said , that both *Psalms* and *spiritual songs* were alwayes of *poetical form* , and *Psalms* beyond question indited in that very form by the Holy Ghost ; that also *Hymns* were most usually of like form , by the instinct and conduct of the same Holy Ghost ; and finally , that
the

the *spiritual gift* was a supernatural faculty of conceiving and uttering new spiritual Songs and Hymns, it is most reasonable to conclude the spiritual gift or *spirit of singing*, spoken of as above by the Apostle, to have been a certain kind of *inspired Divini-poësie*; truly enough so called, though not at all confining it self to the stricter and more curious rules of the *Græcian* or *European* use.

It follows now that we proceed to such rules, which Authours undoubtedly inspired by the Holy Ghost, have laid down for the due managing of this gift, and regulating the Office of *singing* to God: and that we consider in what proportion they are accommodable to our present age. Two Rules we may deduce from that Text of Saint Paul, where we have the forementioned express term of *singing by the spirit*. sect. 6.

First, when he sayes, *I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also*, it is plain he allows it as a justifiable design of the *Corinthians* zeal, that there should be *singing with*

the spirit : that is (to wave what was extraordinary and peculiar to that state of the Church; and to speak in the language, as well as with proportion to the condition of the present Church) There ought to be in the praises of God, both Elegance and Harmony. Elegance ariseth from the proper, neat and decent choice of sense and words. Harmony, first from the aptness of the words to Musick, and thus far Poetry goes; and then from the application of Musical Notes to the words, which, when done with humane voice, we call *singing*.

Now both these, I say, the Apostle concludes ought to be in the praises of God, which Christian people, either more privately, or the Church in publick, offer up unto him. For the spiritual gift, by the conduct of which the Apostle would have them sing, being no principle of slovenliness and unhandsome expression, nor of harshness and confused jargon, but of the contrary, when he sayes *I will sing with the spirit*, he plainly resolves, both these are to be desired and endeavoured in the

the praise of God: and he expressing himself indefinitely, we may extend the singing he speaks of to all instances of it, publick or private. For further clearing of this point we are to consider, that it may be said touching the primitive Christians generally, they had neither learning nor art, and yet they had both. They had neither, as gotten by the common methods of Precepts and Exercise: they had both as immediately inspired into them by God. Arts and Learning were ever in the Christian Church, onely the manner of attaining to them has been different. So then, when the Apostle saith, *I will sing with the spirit*, it is as much as if he had said, what Learning and Arts there are, apt for the publick or private praise of God, in the Church, should be employed and used in the offering up his praise. This onely is the difference betwixt the then state of the *Corinthian* Church, and the present age: they *sung by the spirit*, when they sung in the elegance and harmony, which the Holy Ghost had immediately inspired into them; we sing by the spirit,

when

when we sing with such elegance and harmony, as we have acquired by the common influence of the Holy Ghost upon our industry, and use of ordinary methods. However 'tis plain, if both are to sing with the spirit, the work of that spirit being abilities qualifying persons for this office of singing, both are to sing with some elegance and harmony, onely each with such as respectively they have. This then is the summe of the first Rule, that as the inspired persons were to exercise their gifts; so we, what more common skill we have, meet to the purpose, in singing the Divine praise.

The second Rule we must fetch out of the same place, and particularly from those words, *and I will sing with the understanding also*. The Rule will be this; that all Art which is used, or which may be allowed in the praise of God, ought to be consistent with those praises being distinctly understood; and that both by the persons, who utter them, and the Congregation which hears, and so is to join therein, at least by consent. This is most plain

plain from the words already alledged, and may further appear from what immediately follows *ver. 16, & 17. Else when thou shalt bless with the spirit (viz. by thy spiritual gift, or art as aforesaid) how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say Amen, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest. For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified.* Great care therefore ought to be taken in all our Church-Musick, that the Musick as little as may be, prejudice the distinct perceiving of the words, and to attending the sense. For whether the Hymn, or Psalm, become unintelligible to the Commonalty by the strangeness of the language, or curiosity of the Musical form, in which it is performed, devotion is equally destroyed, be it howsoever unintelligible; but of this more hereafter.

A third Rule we are to fetch, from comparing the Text now mentioned, with those above alledged, touching *Psalms, and Hymns, and spiritual Songs. Ephes. V. 19. Colos. III. 16, and that of St. James, chap. V. 13. Is any of*
H h
you

you merry, let him sing Psalms. I have said above, St. Paul speaking of singing indefinitely in the Text to the *Corinthians*, the passage may be understood of publick or private singing to God: and it is plain by the Context there, a man might sing by the spirit to his own private edification, as well as to the publick benefit of the Church. However, the Apostle by the scope of his discourse, driving there more at publick than private performances, it will be meet to take notice, that the two other places of St. Paul, and that of St. James, injoin singing as Christian mens private entertainment. *Be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess, but be filled with the Holy Ghost: speaking to your selves (or to one another) in Psalms and Hymns, &c.* Let not your mirth be that mad, revelling jollity of the Heathen, but in your private rejoycings, when you are together, entertain your selves with the praise of God; such joy both better becoming Christians, and being of better consequence. The same evidently is the sense of the other places. Now from hence the Rule is, that singing to
 God

God is not onely an office of publick Worship, but an exercise which should employ Christian people in their more private congress, in their Families, and as occasion serves, in their very solitude too, at least oftner than generally they assemble together in publick. It is really to be lamented, that many in our age will scarce hear of private Psalmody, but, because both it and some other Christian practices have been made stalking-horses and blinds by some hypocritical men, therefore inveigh against it & such other holy exercises, as bespeaking onely a Puritanical or Fanatick spirit. Alike sad is it, that so many thousand excellent Wits, one generation after another, still evaporate onely in froth or lust. Certainly it were much more noble, and worthier of our *Beaux Esprits*, of our loftiest and sweetest sons of Harmony, to tune their instruments in private, as *David* did his Harp, sometimes in the Divine praise, rather than ever to vain & carnal delight. But I hope there are not a few sober and conformable men, who are highly enough sensible of this extreme into

Hh 2 which

which the World is run, and if private
 Lauding of God, must have an unhand-
 some character affixt to it, are not there-
 fore deterred from what is so clearly
 their duty, and so much their interest:
*After this Heresie will they worship the
 God of their Fathers.*

I Cor.
 XIV.
 12.

Lastly, that general rule, by which
 all Gifts are to be measured, and the
 performance of all Offices in the Church
 to be regulated, is applicable to this
 particular Gift and Office, and was
 evidently designed to this amongst o-
 thers by the Apostle, in the very place
 where he laies it down. *Forasmuch as
 ye are zealous of spiritual Gifts, seek that
 ye may excell for the edifying of the
 Church;* study that in the exercise
 of all Gifts, and therefore of this,
 as follows *ver. 15, &c.* Not onely then
 all unintelligible exercise hereof is to be
 forborn, as *ver. 16, 17*, of which we
 have already spoken, but all confused,
 disorderly or indecent management. In
 the publick, one must not be at his
Lands, when another is at his *doctrine*,
 and a third at his prayers or confessi-
 ons, *ver. 26.* Nor must one mans per-
 formance be such as shall confound the

the rest. *ver.* 28, 29, 31. But all, as to this Office, as well as others, must be done *Decently and in order.* *ver.* 40.

And the decency certainly ought to be considered, in regard both of the matter sung, and the manner of singing. As to the matter sung in the inspired Church of old; No doubt but the Holy Ghost, who inspired into those primitive Saints, Psalms, Hymns, or spiritual Songs, that is, the praise of God in fit form to be sung, provided much more for the fitness and decency of the subject matter, than for any exactness of outward form; that was most heavenly, pure, and every way apposite and congruous to the age and occasion. And accordingly our first and chiefest care, in discharge of our present duty of singing to God, ought to be, that the subject matter of our Hymns be duly chosen, that it be becoming the Majesty of God, and suiting with the condition and state of the Church. It is to be remembred, that there is a vast difference betwixt the Legal and Evangelical state, betwixt the *Mosaical* and *Christian* Worship,

promises and hopes. Though therefore, with due application, and taken in a Christian sense, we may with great advantage sing *David's* Psalms (of which more hereafter) yet it is very certain, there ought to be Hymns in more express and direct Christian terms than are those, which were properly calculated for another Oeconomy: nor can any man imagine, that what was once fit for the service of God under the Law, and as such dictated by the Holy Ghost, is therefore eternally meet & seasonable, or most proper for a Christian Quire. Much less is it tolerable, that things should be foisted in to the Publick Lauds, because the words in which they are expressed, are of a rowling or jingling sound, and tickle the ear or fancy of an empty Musician. The primitive Church, by her Canons, committed the direction what should be sung, to deeper and graver judgments. Again, there is a *Decorum*, as to the very manner and kind of the Musick, which is to be observed. Musick is therefore used in the Worship of God, because of the power it hath upon the
mind

mind of man, to raise good affections and calm disorderly ones. That Musick therefore, which in stead of exciting devotion, and composing the soul to a sedate and fixed temper, onely moves light & giddy thoughts, induces an airy humour, and sporting, frisking dancing passions, is altogether to be banished the Christian Worship. To set Anthems or Services in the way of Madrigals or Galliards (as some of late have in a manner done) is to debauch Devotion, to pervert the Worship of God, and as it were to take pains to make men wanton therein: And it certainly argues either want of judgment, information of, or attention to the true ends of *Church-Musick*, or want of seriousness, and a real fear of God, in the hearts of all such, who either introduce or affect such practice. For those Mercurial nimble-finger'd men, are either sensible of the natural effects of such Musick upon the generality of Mankind, or not: if they are, and yet maintain such unseasonable use, I do not see how to excuse them of irreligion; if they are not, let them see how to acquit themselves
of

of ignorance in the power of their beloved Art and Humane nature.

As to any conduency to edification, arising from order kept in singing, I do not see much to be wanting in the constitution of our Church. First, there is no other Office actually engaging the Congregation, when Divine Hymns are sung, but that all both may and ought attend thereto, and, distinctly consenting, join therein. Then, in our *Cathedral use*, there are none to sing but such who may pass, in the style of the old Canon, for *Ψαλταὶ ἀγαστοὶ*, regular singers, who if they observe their rule (as they are generally able to do) can neither be presumed to disturb the Congregation, nor one the other; but all sweetly to conspire in such utterance of the praise of God, as must needs draw forth the affections, and engage the hearts of all such who are not stupid or heedless. And as to such others of the Congregation, who strike in at the *Chorus's*, or Versicles, or in chanting the Psalms, and such like parts of the Service, these are all exercised or skillful persons, and create no interruption
to

Conc.
Laod.
Can.
15.

to the devotion of any, but only make up the content much fuller. In the *Parochial* use, especially of singing the Metrical Version of the Psalms, the common practice is indeed obnoxious. It is hard to say whether the Metre, the usual choice of Psalms by the Parish-Clerks, or the peoples singing be worse: all is pitiful and mean; and especially the singing oftentimes full of ungrateful jarres, discords, squeaks, screeches, roaring, &c. which severally I wish brought to a more regular, comely and orderly course; and what may be done privately, and without any noise, to this purpose, I shall hereafter consider. But the present disorderly practice, is no constitution of our Churches; at the utmost, it has been onely permitted, out of a kind of necessity, to the will of the people, because yet it could be no better; and therefore it is not to be imputed to our Church, especially by such who are adverse to her Laws, because there is no sort of men so stiff for this practice as themselves. Lastly, as to the interweaving Hymns, sometimes with Lessons of Holy Scripture, some-

times with prayers, though some men have spoken against it, I sincerely profess my self to judge it a most reasonable and profitable Order. For, reading suggests occasion, matter, and fresh thoughts for the praise of God, Praise again, whets and quickens the mind for new attention to the truths of the Gospel, or Rules of Holy Life. And prayer derives and fetches down a fresh influence of the divine grace, disposing, and as it were, molding the heart into a softer and more zealous temper for praise. Thus by an happy interchange, one Office *makes ready* or *prepares the way* to another, and a grateful variety through the whole Service, takes off the *Tedium* of all, and renders the performance, though of a considerable length, pleasing even to flesh and blood.

Now supposing these Rules observed, that the praises of God are gracefully indited, that they are intelligibly uttered, that the matter be meet and proper, and the manner of singing grave and reverent, and all orderly performed (which are, in summe, the parti-
cu

cular Rules laid down) what can there be wanting to make up such a consent and symphony , as shall be acceptable and delightful to God , but that *Inner Part* which the Apostle calls *Melody in* (or of) *the Heart* ? And what that imports , we will now examine as a fit close to these Apostolical Rules.

Eph. V

To sing and make melody to the Lord in the heart is , say some , to sing *ex corde* from the heart , and not with the tongue alone ; more plainly others *intentionem hujus laudis ad Dominum dirigendo* , directing the intention of this praise to the Lord ; more fully *Theophylact* , with *understanding, attention, and an heart not rambling*. In summe , to comprehend all , The *melody of the heart* consists in a sweet concord and agreement of all those inward rational powers , which are fit to be employed in the divine praise. And therefore, distinctly, to make up a *full melody of the heart* , there is a threetold care to be taken , and no point thereof any solicitude to modulate the voice : for that is supposed to be habitually done by art and custome , as by a second nature ;

señ. 7

Caivin.

Lyra.

and to be, in a manner, as facil and ready as speech; nor should any singing, by grown and adult persons, be admitted in the solemn Service of God, but what is performed by such, to whom it is become thus natural.

The first point of care must be in *Attention* to what we sing in the praise of God; I do not mean to the Notes, for this too many are too apt to, and content themselves with, but unto the words and their import. I appeal to any mans conscience and common reason; should there be no difference between hearing an Anthem, and hearing an ordinary Song or Catch? to the later men attend onely for delight and divertisement, and therefore principally heed the Musick. To the other they do, or ought to, attend as to a sacrifice of divine praise offered up to God, by their consent, so as, thereby at least, to join with the performers in the offering it up; and therefore men ought primarily to attend unto the sense, to the end they may be ready in each part with such their consent; and onely secundarily, and by the by, to the

Chap. I. Duty of Singing. 253

the Musick, that thereby their souls being more inflamed or quickened, might with more fervour present their share in the spiritual sacrifice, which not only God as Judge, but Angels as holily emulous attend unto.

A second point, which should exercise our care in singing is *Intention*, or real designing, desiring and endeavouring to give to God that praise with our mind and full consent, which our words import. *Psalmis & Hymnis cum oratio Deum, hoc versetur in corde quod profertur in ore*, saith St. *Austin*. It is certainly a fault in Holy-singing, for the mind not actually to consent and combine with the Tongue, in each strain and particular of the divine praise. This a man may do; say some great pretended Masters in devotion, by consenting to the Service and all Hymns, which the Church shall offer, before he comes to them. A general agreeing thereto suffices, and particular intention is not of the necessary essence of devotion. An excellent doctrine indeed, and such it seems, as the present devotion of the Gentlemen of the *Romish* Church makes need-
ful

Tom.

1. in

regul.

3.

ful to be defended by their ablest Patriots. I will but onely mind them what the Learned Cardinal of *Cajeta* saith upon the Text of their *Angelical Doctor*. *Aquinas* handling this Question, or one very neerly the same, resolves onely such want of *Attention*, and consequently of *Intention*, to be sinful which is *ex proposito*, from purpose or design. But saith the Comment hereon, *Author evagationem ex negligentia computat sub evagatione ex proposito, &c.* "The Author reckoneth (that is, understands to be reckoned) "all want of Attention (and so of intention) through "negligence, to be included under such "want purposely and on design.—For "such negligence being voluntary, "therefore also is the Non-attention "which arises thence voluntary also; "and therefore sinful, and as bad as to "invite a Guest, and under a mans very own roof vilely to intreat him. According to the doctrine then of this great man, if through negligence intention be wanting, there must be sin in such devotions; and much more, if through design. Now whether amongst them

1a.
2a.
e. 83.
a. 13.

them, a distinct and actual attention and intention be not both wanting through design, and that too through the design of their Church, when all their solemn and publick Services, being by their Church contrived into a form unintelligible by the common people, are onely so officiated by their Priests, let them answer. We may expect they will acquit themselves, when they can make out, that a man ordinarily may actually and distinctly attend and intend such sense, of which he has not knowledge. But let the *Romists* pass: if there be any amongst our selves who think such intention, as I speak of, is not necessary to make up the *melody of the heart*, I will onely desire such to consider the following case. Whether, if I were to pay any solemn Homage, together with thanks for some peculiar acts of grace, to my Prince, and I should, before such address made, intend so to do, and generally consent to the form of address; but, when it were to be offered, though I came myself into the Presence to join in the tender, I should negligently withdraw my self from having

ving any hand in the actual tender, and employ my self aside in little idle diversifements with other things or persons, whether I say this demeanour would be accepted, or rather not construed as a contempt? Might I seem hereby to have paid my fealty, with all good affection and humble duty? No man can enforce himself to think so. Now of the same nature must that mans devotion be, who onely consents that certain praise shall be offered up to God, & by outward joining therein, as it were, puts himself into the Presence-chamber of Gods Majesty, but then neglects God, & concurs not to the address by any constant actual intention. Onely the mockery is so much more solemn, by how much God is the greater Sovereign. Let it therefore stand, that whosoever would sing in a manner pleasing and harmonious to God, must not onely, at the first access, bring into his presence a general intention of offering praise, or paying worship to him, but also, throughout attending (as before said) to the sense and substance of what is offered, maintain all along a continued

nued consent, and distinct actual intention, as to the several particulars and members of such addresses, as shall be presented to his Majesty: and where-soever this attention and distinct intention fails, there is a kind of *chasme* in the *melody of the heart*.

Lastly, (what is but a further explication or carrying on of such distinct intention as above directed) to the end *every part* of this *inward melody* may be *full*, it is requisite that the *Affections* be in some measure engaged (at least as they may be supposed rational powers) that the mind be employed in the acting and exercise of such Christian graces as become him, who would offer praise. Especially, amongst others (1.) In the exercise of Humility, or a deep sense not onely of our own undeservingness, but of our evil deservings at Gods hands, and together of his infinite perfection, goodness, grace or free bounty. The Holy Seraphims when they sung their *Sanctus* (*Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory.*) with *two wings* Isa. VI.
covered their face; and with other *two* 23.

their feet, and flew onely with the remaining pair. Humility was their most active grace, even in the divine praise. And surely this ought to make many of us ashamed, if not of our confidence in singing, yet of somewhat else therein. The like exercise ought there to be of the mind (2.) In divine love, and admiration of him, whom we praise. For though all his acts are wonderful, yet his goodness to mankind has outdone all that ever else he did, I had almost said, all he can do. In redeeming us, as he has done, he has most transcendently got to himself the *name, Wonderful*. And (3.) in gratitude, or an holy Zeal and study to express before men and Angels (seeing we are not able to make any appearance of recompence) how much we owe, and ever must owe to the God of our praise. And, which is a consequent hereof (4.) in Heavenly-mindedness, or earnest desire to be in such an estate, wherein indefinitely we shall do nothing but praise him, and praise him better than now we do or can. And, Lastly, for a close fit to such a symphony, in love and good will

Isa. IX.
6.

will towards mankind. For this we find to have made up two straines of three in the Angelical Hymn; After *Glory be to God*, comes *On Earth peace, & good will towards men*. Those blessed spirits so exprest their praises, as at once not onely to publish to those of mankind who heard them, that God was now *reconciling the world to himself in Christ Jesus*, but also, by the very form of speech, to signifie their desire that it should be so, and their rejoicing that it was so. Now that such sweet combination of Christian graces and good affections, is requisite to the making up the *melody of the heart*, there needs no other proof but the comparing St. Paul's words in his two Epistles: what to the *Ephesians*, he terms *singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord*, to the *Colossians* he styles *singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord*. These therefore must be the same, and one onely an explication of the other.

Having taken this particular view of the *inward manner of singing*, called by *Sec. 8.* the Apost'e, *melody in the heart*, for-

asmuch, as it is too often greatly neglected, not onely by our Quire men, but by many others of the Congregation, I could not think I did my duty, if I passed this subject without a serious and passionate monition to all of our Communion, that as they love God, our Church, themselves, or Heaven, they would principally attend, and be most zealous for, and in this point of their duty. We have teen this to be the end of all other melody, this to be designed in all and every of the Apostolical Rules for singing. It is to no purpose to sing with art or skill, in decent matter and manner of composure, in order, nay nor with understanding neither, if there be not such attention, such particular intention, and in some measure, such good affection, as described. Whatever there is in the outward practice or rules, is but a mean to this temper: nay, the very understanding it self is but subservient hereto. The understanding is indeed the leading power of the rational soul, the guide of the wil in all its choice, by which choice every man is either blessed or miserable:

ble : and it is therefore necessary, that we actually understand what we sing in the divine praise , that by contemplation and commemoration of those perfections and benefits , the glory of which we give to God , our will and all our soul may be more passionately drawn , and more intimately adhere and cleave to him by divine love , delight and complacency. We are to remember, that the great Worship which God now requires of us , as more peculiar to the Evangelical state , is a *Worship in spirit and in truth*. *Such the Father seeketh to worship him* , and indeed all others his soul abhors , and is weary of. First , we are to worship him, by giving up our selves to him. This is worshipping him in spirit , when the *soul* is devoted , and really *consecrate* to him. Then in every act of Worship, the soul is really to direct its intention to him , and thereby to draw near to him , and this is worshipping him in truth. Whatever comes short of this , is but pageantry , and a more gay affront of God , any further than it conduces hereto. I therefore again most

Joh.IV.
22,23.

earnestly conjure all who have, or pretend to have, any zeal for our Church-service, that they be careful in this matter. Alas! may it not daily be upbraided to many, according to the very literal truth, that they who officiate in the Divine Service, and the Service it self so officiated, are to them *as a very Lovely song of one that has a pleasant voice, and can play well on an instrument: for they hear their words, but they will not do them?* Or rather worse, they *bear not*, or heed not the words, but listen opely to the Musick, and rest therein? Now can we think but that this is most abominable in the Eyes of God? Nay, is it not so in the judgement of all serious men, and even of natural conscience it self? Besides, what a disturbance must holy indignation give to any good mans devotion, when he shall be diverted, and put besides his attention of Worship, by beholding men, that pretend to be worshipping of God, tyed fast by the ears, staring, gaping, anon smiling, whispering, busie with every one neer them, unable to conceal the secret titil.

Ezek.
xxxiii
32.

tillation with which their curiosity, in attending Musick while they neglect the matter, strikes and affects them. If this be singing with the spirit, with art and skill, I am sure it is not singing *in the spirit and in truth*: it would not become a formal Jew, much less a Christian; it cannot be accounted singing *unto God*, but to our own sensuality. Neither our Church, nor any of her genuine Sons, own, or can excuse such practice, as arguing not onely a gross neglect or ignorance of the true and substantial Worship of God in those persons who are guilty of it, but making them accessory to the perverting and hindering it in others, and in a word, bringing a reproach and infamy on our Communion and Worship.

Such incogitancy and wandring of thoughts, as common frailty, and the slipperiness and instability of the humane soul occasion, may find with God, through his mercy in Christ, an easie pardon, where these lapses are not indulged, but repented of, and striven against; and both the Worship, and the Worshippers, be nevertheless

accepted. But what we have taxed, being of a far different nature, and amounting to little less than a total actual aversion of the soul from God, as to such particular Worship, can never pass for devotion or service of God: and being without excuse with man, will never before God find any acceptance, but, contrariwise, will surely add to the *treasure of wrath against the day of wrath, and revelation of the righteous judgment of God.* And those whom the consideration hereof will not work to more serious temper and intention, the *Lord have mercy on:* but how they can expect mercy till they repent & reform, they must pardon me, if I tell them in good earnest, I do not see.

CHAP. II.

Of the *Primitive Practice* in singing, and the Progress of *Church-Musick*.

Sect. 1. Singing a constant part of the *Publick primitive Worship*, and the first office amongst the *Christians*, which the *Heathens* took notice of. Sect. 2. What the *Primitive Christians* sung. Sect. 3. The way of singing in the *Primitive and succeeding Church*, for a considerable time, very plain. Sect. 4. *Christians* of all conditions used to sing, both privately, and in the publick *Congregations*. Sect. 5. Of the introducing more artificial *Musick* into the *Church-use*. Sect. 6. Of introducing *instrumental Musick* into the same. Sect. 7. Of the *Churches* which have received it, or declared their approbation and desire of it. Sect. 8. A recollection and summe of the whole.

IT follows now that we proceed to Sect. I. the third enquiry, What has, since
L l the

the inspired days, been the practice of the Church; and that we view here particularly, how Church-Musick has advanced in several Ages.

Some learned men have, and it would seem not unfitly, made a distinction betwixt *Ecclesia Prima*, and *Ecclesia Primitiva*, betwixt the First Church, and the Primitive Church. Let it be so; notwithstanding I am sure even in the very first Christian Church, singing praise unto God, was a constant part of their divine Worship at all their solemn Assemblies. This indeed we have seen already proved. *When you come together, every one of you hath a Psalm, hath a Doctrine, &c.* Singing to God was no less frequent, than Praying or Preaching. And this we have seen to have been one reason of the effusion of those miraculous gifts, particularly of the Gift of *singing* insisted on in the foregoing Chapter, that the Church might not in its very beginning, be either destitute of Hymns proper to the Evangelical state, or under any incapacity of ready providing such. And, if we look into days somewhat earlier than that

that critical age of the *Corinthian* Church now mentioned, we shall not find our selves at any loss for evidences of this practice. *Acts II 46, 47. They continued daily with one according in the Temple, breaking bread, &c,—praising God, and having favour (or charity) with all people.* Nor was this their Publick and more solemn, but even their Private practice also. In the very Prison, and at Midnight too, *Paul and Silas prayed, and sung praises unto God, and the prisoners heard them.* And this practice was so universal, that many learned men have thought the Christian Church from the very beginning, to have taken up the custome of the Jewes in singing *Dauids Psalms.* And amongst the rest, even Mr. *Calvin* himself professes this to be his judgment. *Nec verò, mihi dubium est, quin ritum Judaicæ Ecclesiæ statim ab initio in Psalmis fuerint imitati* See too *Luk.* last. 53.
“I do not, saith he, “at all doubt, “but presently from the very beginning, they followed the Jewish use “in singing Psalms.” *Acts XVI. 25.*

When the Church began now to disperse it self wider into the Heathen Empire,

Tom.
2. Philo-
patr.

Lib. X.
Ep. 97.
de
Chri-
tian.

pire, it is very certain, that the first publick Office, which the Heathens could generally take notice of in the Christian Assemblies, was their singing. This the scoffer *Lucian*, or whoever was the Author of that Dialogue (if it were none of his) gives us to understand, while he designs it as a reproach to the Christians, that they did *ἀντοι διαφ' ης, ἐν παντός ὕμνος ἱμαρῶν*.

*Fast long, spending whole nights
in watching & singing hymns.* Such was the practice of the *Roman* Christians then:

And as to the Eastern, in the same age, *Pliny* Proconsul amongst them, being to give an account to his Lord & Sovereign *Trajan* the Emperour, what the *Christian* superstition, as they called it, was, humbly signifies as much to him. *Hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ vel erroris [Christianorum] quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem; sequè Sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria admitterent, ne fidem fallerant, ne depositum appellati abnegarent: quibus peractis, morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursum.*

ſuſque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiſcuum tamen & innoxium. " This, ſaith he, " I found to be the ſumme either of their fault or error, that on " a ſet day they are wont to meet together before day, and to ſing amongſt themſelves a certain Hymn to " Chriſt, as to a God, & to bind themſelves by a Sacrament not to any " wickedneſs, but that they commit " not thefts, nor robberies, nor adulteries; that they break not their promiſe, that they deny not the pledge " when demanded. Which being done, " they uſe to depart, and then meet " again to take meat, but in common " and innocently. In this account given by Heathens to Heathens, we have evident footſteps of three practices, obſerved uſual in the Primitive-Chriſtian Aſſemblies. The firſt, of ſinging Hymns in common; for though it be here *carmen Chriſto dicere* (to ſay an Hymn to Chriſt) yet we ſee the Scripture to have uſed the term ſinging; Apolo. get. c. 2. and in *Tertullian*, where we have mention of the ſame practice, the words are, *cætus antelucanos ad canendum Chriſti*

Pro ac Deo : “ They held meetings be-
 fore day , to sing to Christ and God ,
 (or Christ as God). The second , of
 celebrating the Communion ; And the
 third , of their Love-feasts : but these
 more darkly exprest , and they are not
 at present to our purpose. In two pla-
 ces more of *Tertullian* , do I remember
 the like practice set down , *Apologetic.*
cap. 39. And again in his Book *De Anim.*
cap. 9. *Scripturæ leguntur , Psalmi can-*
tantur , Adlocutiones proferuntur , Pe-
titiones delegantur : “ The Scriptures ,
 faith he , “ are read , Psalms are sung ,
 “ Exhortations or Sermons made , and
 “ Prayers sent up. The like account
 too have we in *Justin Martyr*’s second
 Apology : onely I have not observed
 the word *singing* (*ψάλλον* or *ᾄδον*) there ,
 but in stead thereof *ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ
 υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος* , *ἀναπνεύμεν*
 “ sending up praise and glory to the
 “ Father of all , through the name of
 “ his Son , and the Holy Spirit ; and
Ἐυχαιόμεθα τῷ πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι
ἀείνονα . “ The Bishop giving thanks ,
 “ and all the people answering in some
 “ benedictory or approbatory Form ,
 at

at least by their *Amen*. Yet in his *Epi-Ad*
 stle, touching a Christian life, I find *1 Cor. 3*
 ὅντας τοὺς ψαλμοὺς, καὶ ὧδὰς, καὶ ᾄδων ῥητόν. “ We *Scrio.*

“ are to offer up Hymns, and Psalms,
 “ and Songs, and Praise. I esteem it
 needless to add more testimonies in so
 plain a case.

Supposing it therefore abundantly *Sol. 2.*
 evident by these passages, as well out
 of some of our ancientest Christian writ-
 ters, as from Heathens, that the
 Christian Church, both *First* and *Pri-*
mitive, constantly used singing to God
 and Christ in their solemn Assemblies,
 for the fuller and clearer comprehension
 of their whole practice, it will be re-
 quisite to enquire *What they sung*. And
 touching this point, there are three
 conclusions which may be laid down,
 and which I conceive may prove satisfac-
 tory.

First, Those who were indued with
 the spiritual Gift before-described, did
 undoubtedly in publick exercise the
 same, and that as well by inditing anew
 Hymns to God and Christ by virtue
 thereof, as by singing the Hymns so
 indited. The *first* Church then sung
 many

many times new inspired Hymns, peculiar to that their state : and hereof no one can doubt, who has considered the purport of the foregoing Chapter.

Secondly, We cannot well presume, but that some passages of these inspired Hymns were preserved, if not in some early-written Records (though not now extant) yet in the memories of such, who (like *Janus*) saw both backward and forward, something of the inspired, and something of the more ordinary age of the Church. The reasonableness of this conjecture or supposeal, will be concluded from what I have spoken in the first discourse, in the beginning of the fourth Chapter. Now this being admitted, it may be said, that in the Primitive Church there were several Christian Hymns composed by the Bishops of the earliest age, after the cessation of the miraculous Gifts, partly out of such passages as were remembered to have been used by inspired men, and partly of such additaments, as they according to their Christian discretion thought fit to make thereto, proper to their then present state. Hereof though
very

ry little be come to us, yet that some of the Eucharistical part in the Office of the Communion may be of this Origin, I have above proved in the place just now named. And the same may I conclude touching that Doxology, so usual in our Liturgy (*Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.*) for in the same Dialogue, we now mentioned, it is plainly upbraided to the Christians of that time (*viz. of Trajan's age*) that they did, *τὴν ἑυχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχαῖοι, τὴν πολυάνυμνον ἐπιθίσαι.*

“beginning with the Prayer *Our Father*, add to it an Hymn with many names in it; which cannot reasonably be understood of any Hymn else, there being none other, which comes under this character, that can pretend to be in any measure of such antiquity.

Lucian.
Philop.

However, Thirdly, that there were two sorts of Hymns usually sung in the Primitive Church, is clear out of *Tertullian*. His words are, *Ut quisque de Scriptura sacra, et de proprio ingenio potest, provocatur in medium Deo canere.* “Sometimes we sing passages out of the Holy Scripture, sometimes Hymns of humane

Apolo-
get. c.
c. 29.

“posure. And as to the later of these; those Hymns, sometimes were such as had been received, and for some space used in the Church, sometimes of newer date. This, the very words of *Tertullian* now cited, *De proprio ingenio*, and that passage formerly alledged on another occasion, touching *Paulus Samosatenus*, “that he took away the “Psalms and Hymns, which had been “used to be sung in the Church to the “praise of God and Christ, pretending “them to be new, and composed by “men of later times, abundantly prove. But it is evident, the Hymns thus rejected by *Paulus*, were neither new, for that *decantari solebant*, they were used to be sung (& this was about the middle of the 3^d century) nor that there was any culpable matter contained in them, for the Council censured *Paulus*, and restored them. so that we may without doubt conclude, the Primitive Church sung Hymns which were neither meer Scripture, nor otherwise of divine inspiration.

One thing onely is to be added here, that though there were certainly in those

those dayes diverse Hymns sung, which were composed by more private spirits, yet none generally were of publick use, till they had at least passed the approbation of the Bishops of those Churches, where they were used. This is in part proved already, and will hereafter come under further consideration.

Now as to the Primitive manner of *singing* all Hymns, it is certain it was very plain. Thus much is suggested by that passage above-mentioned out of *Pliny*, where the Christians singing is called *Carmen dicere*, the saying an Hymn to Christ: and it is both generally agreed, and considering the condition of the Christian Church, it could not be otherwise. For what of state, or Musical graces, could be expected, while in stead of their harps, they were to bear their cross? while *they wandred up and down in sheep skins*, and in *goat-skins*, being *destitute*, *afflicted and tormented*; while deserts were their cities, and caves their Oratories, and Midnight one great canonical hour. And yet I must confess indeed, the plain way of singing, seems not to have been onely
mat-

Confes.
lib. 10.
c. 33.

matter of necessity to them, but of choice also. Thus Saint *Augustine* hath recorded his information. *De Alexandrino Episcopo, Athanasio, sæpe mihi dictum commemorari, quod tam modico flexu vocis faciebat sonare lectorem Psalmi, ut pronuncianti vicinior esset quam canenti:* "He had been often told, that *Athanasius* made the Psalms to use so small modulation of their voice, that they seemed rather to pronounce distinctly, than to sing. (And so, to this day, are the Psalms commonly chanted amongst us) The same saith *Rabanus Maurus* more at large, concluding that the *Psalmists voice* should be such (*non quæ Tragicam exclamant artem, sed quæ Christianam simplicitatem in ipsa modulatione demonstrat, &c.*) "which is not so much accommodated to state and pomp, as expressing Christian simplicity in its very tuning; and rather creating compunction in the Hearers, than favouring too much of art and curiosity; though he also acknowledge the secret efficacy of music to affect the mind, and the reasonableness of practising somewhat of art,

De in-
stit.
Cler.
l. 2: c. 1
48, 49.

as we shall hereafter note: but possibly men are very prone in these cases to overdoing. However that Author is much neerer the Apostolick age, than either of these mentioned, who censures more severely.

Καταλαύσαντες ὅτι τὰς Χρωματικὰς ἀρμονίας τὰς ἀχρυσίαις παρρησίαις, καὶ τῇ ἀνδροπόσει καὶ Ἑταίρῳ μυστικῶν.

Pædag.
lib. 2.
c. 4.

Thus *Clement of Alexandria*: And yet some now adays are scarce content with the *Chromatick* scale (though possibly the Father understood onely *figurate* compositions in general) but search after all the niceties of the whole three, & mix all together for Church-use. I pray God it be with good success.

The Primitive singing being thus plain (all undoubtedly in one time and tone) there were no sort, sex or age, but what in some measure did or could join therein, either in private, or publick, or bothwise. And hereof we have great plenty of evidence. First, as to private singing; that passage of the last-mentioned Father is very memorable. *Ὁς δὲ ἀρμολύει, σὺν ἡμῶν, &c.* "According (saith he) as before we take our meat, it is fit we praise the Creatour of all; so also doth it become us, when

sec. 4.

Ibid.

we

“ we drink , to sing to him , being
 “ made partakers of his good creatures.
 “ — Lastly, before sleep seizes us, it is
 “ right pious and holy to give thanks to
 “ God, as having partaken of his boun-
 “ ty and favour, and so divinely to go
 “ to sleep. And this practice the Fa-
 ther draws, as naturally enough he
 may, from that passage of St. Paul,
 1 Cor. X. 31. *Whether ye eat or drink,*
or whatever ye do, do all to the glory of
God, &c. Again, Tertullian about the
 same time speaks of the Husbands sing-
 ing to the Wife, and the Wives to the
 Husband, and this even at meals. And
 St. Cyprian to the same purpose. *Nec*
sit vel hora convivii gratia celestis immu-
nis: sonet Psalmos convivium sobrium;
& ut tibi tenax est memoria, voce cano-
ra aggredere hoc munus ex more, &c.
 “ Neither let, saith he, the hour of
 “ meal be without some Heavenly exer-
 “ cise. Let thy sober table sound of
 “ Psalms, & as thou hast a good memo-
 “ ry, in common custome set upon this
 “ Work with a clear voice. Thou wilt by
 “ this means better feed thy dearest re-
 “ lations, &c. But most fully of all St.

Ad ux-
 or: l: 2:
 c: 6.

Ad Do-
 nat.

Hierom in diverse of his Epistles. In Ep: 17:
Christi villula, &c. "In Christian Villages ad
 " (saith he) there is little to be heard but Marcel.
 " Psalms. Which way soever you turn
 " your self, the Husbandman holding
 " his Plow, sings *Halleluja*: The Mow-
 " er sweating, refresheth himself with
 " Psalms; the Vine-dresser pruning his
 " Vines, sings something of *Dauids*.
 Elsewhere he speaks even of children,
 who being scarce able to speak, could
 sing *Halleluja's* to Christ. *Parvula adhuc*
lingua balbutiens Christi Halleluja reso-
nat: And again, *Cum avum viderit, in*
pectus ejus transfiliat, de collo pendeat,
volenti Halleluja decantet: " When the Ep: 7:
 " little child saw her Grandfather, she ad Lat.
 " would leap into his arms, & hang about
 " his neck, and sing an *Halleluja* to him,
 " whether he would or no. These
 were the Songs of the Primitive dayes.
Hic pastorum sibilus, hac arma cultura. Idem.
 These were the shepherds layes, and the
 plough-mans whittlings. To conclude, as
 to this private practice, *Chrysostome* has a
 great part of an Homily, exhorting to the
 use of it upon all opportunities & occasions

It will not now be admired, that the
 Pri:

Primitive Christians, being privately thus exercised, by the way, in the House, at their meals, at their labours, in the field, in the vineyard, and in a manner every where, all sorts should in those days be very ready to join in the praises of God at their publick Assemblies. Here, in their turn and season, they all struck in, so that the *Amen* almost equalled the thunder (*Ad similitudinem cælestis tonitru* Amen reboat.) Nor one y joind they in so short Responsals, but in *Dauids* Psalms too.

Hiero:
in præf.
Ep: ad
Gal.

Consona quæ celebrant modulati carmina David,

Auson:
Ephc:
lib: 2.

Et responsuris ferit æra vocibus Amen.

Consonant to which practice of theirs, is the use of all our Parochial Churches, or may be, if the peoples devotion be not wanting; and in our Cathedral Churches, though in some particulars the Musick be softer and more delicate; yet from the chanting *Dauid's* Psalms, from the joining in the *Amen*, and other Responds, none commonly are pre-

precluded, and, for a regular performance thereof, any may be easily qualified.

Such being the universality of singing to God, in the first and in the Primitive Church, I cannot any otherwise interpret that passage of St. *Austins*, touching St. *Ambrose's* setting up the Practice of Psalms and Hymns in the Church of *Milain*, in the time of the *Arrian* Persecution, raised against St. *Ambrose* and his people, by *Justina* Mother of *Valentinian*, than onely of his introducing a new way of singing. *Ni-* Sec. 5.
mirum annus erat, &c. saith the Father. Confes. 1.9.c. 7.

“It was about a year, or not much
“more (before his Baptism) when
“*Justina* the Mother of young *Valenti-*
“*nian* persecuted *Ambrose* the man of
“God, for the sake of the Heresie,
“whereto she had been seduced by the
“*Arrians*. The people all devoutly lay
“night and day in the Church, prepa-
“red to dye with their Bishop. — Then
“was it appointed that Psalmes and
“Hymns should be sung *secundum mo-*
“*rem Orientalium partium*, “after the
“manner of the Eastern Church, lest

" the people should sink under the irk-
 " somness of the affliction : And from
 " that time to this day , has that pra-
 " cise been retained , many and almost
 " all congregations imitating through-
 " out the other parts of the World.
 That the *Easterlings* sung before , the
 Father acknowledges : that the *Roman*
 Church , (within the Territories of
 which was *Milain*) sung before , we
 have already proved : Whatsoever new
 practice therefore was at that time in-
 troduced , was not as to singing it self,
 as if absolute'y then begun, as some have
 thought , but onely as to the manner of
 singing ; *St Ambrose* reduced their former
 use to a greaer conformity with the *East-*
ern. Now how far the *Eastern* Church had
 at that time improved the way of sing-
 ing , I am not able to speak ; for I can
 find but little recorded on the subject.
 That before this time , *Nepos* the *Aegy-*
ptian (a person much exercised in the
 Scripture , and of great faith , godli-
 ness and industry) had composed sever-
 al Hymns of his own , which many
 Christian Churches used long after , *Eu-*
sebins proves out of *Dionysius*. That
 both

both the form of compofure, and the manner of finging of thefe Hymns, was more artificial and curious, than what had been the former ufe, is very probable, for that it is faid, *Many of the Brethren were greatly delighted therewith* which feems to import fomewhat more delicious in them, that might be the caufe of fuch delight, than was formerly ufual. What time *Nepos* lived in, I can give no other account, but that the above-named *Dionyfius Alexandrinus* fpeaks there of him as lately dead at that time, when he wrote thofe things: now *Dionyfius* flourifhed about the year 254, if we may believe

Bellarmin. Elder than thofe of *Nepos's* were *Hierothens* his Hymns, whom fome talk high of, as being (*post Apostolos omnibus Doct̃oribus ſuperior*) the greateſt Doctor next the Apoſtles, and who lived, as tis ſaid, in the very Apoſtolick age, and was preſent with St. Peter, and St. James, and other of the Apoſtles, at the Funeral of the Bleſſed Virgin: but of what nature theſe Hymns alſo were, & indeed, whether there were any ſuch Hymns or perſon, we muſt be

Dionyf.
Eccleſ.
Hierar.
& de
divin.
Nom.
l. 1. c. 3.

content to be in the dark. To come to times wherein we have clearer Records: And to omit here the Hymns attributed to *Clement* of *Alexandria*, That Saint *Hilary* composed a Book of Hymns, about the middle of the Fourth century, we are certain, from St. *Hierom*; as also that these were in strict Poetical Form, for such is that *Beata nobis gaudia*, extant in the *Romish* Breviaries, and reckoned to be his. That also St. *Ambrose* imitating him, composed Hymns strictly verse, we are assured by St. *Austin*, who repeats several Verses of one of them; & of others, more anon. That this Fathers Hymns were sung in the Church of *Milan* in his own age, is evident from his own Works: and that besides this more artificial form of composing Hymns, he introduced more artificial notes and modulation, to what before used more plainly to be sung, is beyond question manifest out of S. *Austin*, who, having acknowledged himself, before his conversion, much given to the pleasures of hearing, but that God had now disintangled him from those snares, adds,
Nunc

Hiero.
de scrip-
tor.
Eccles.

Gavan.
in Ru-
br.
Brevis.
Confes.
l. 9. c.
12.

Am-
brof. in
Aux-
ent.

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Nunc in sonis, quos animant eloquia tua, Confes.
cum suavi & artificiosa voce cantantur, lib. 10:
fateor aliquantulum acquiesco: non qui- c. 33.
dem ut baream, sed ut surgam cum volo.

“ Now (saith he) in such sounds as
 “ thy Oracles inspire, when they are
 “ sung with a sweet and artificial voice,
 “ I have some complacency: not so in-
 “ deed as to stick therein, but to rise
 “ [in my affections thereby] when I will.

And a little after, having suspected
 himself to have been guilty of too much
 attention to, and affection from, the
 singing, rather than the thing sung, he
 complains himself sometimes to be in his
 thoughts drawn into too much severity a-
 gainst so curious melody. *Aliquando autem*
hanc ipsam fallaciam moderatius cavens,
erro nimia severitate. Sed valde inter-

dum; ut melos, &c. “ Sometimes, saith
 “ he, being too anxiously cautious
 “ against any fallaciousness of this sensi-
 “ ble delight, I err by too great seve-
 “ rity: And very much indeed in some
 “ instances; for that I could even wish
 “ that all the melody of those sweet
 “ tunes, in which David's Psalms are
 “ daily sung, were removed from my

“ ears, and the ears of the Church.
 “ And it seems safer to me, what I re-
 “ member often to have been told me
 “ of *Athanasius* the Bishop of *Alexandria*,
 “ who made the Psalmists chant the
 “ Psalms with so small change of voice,
 “ that it might rather seem pronoun-
 “ cing, than singing (the passage even
 now cited).

From this place it appears, that at
 least in the Church of *Millain*, *St. Am-
 brose* introduced more melodious and
 artificial singing, than was the *Alexan-
 drian* or former use. Now that other
 Churches soon took up this practice,
 that passage of *St. Austin*, above cited,
 Confes: proves. *Ex illa [tempore] in bodier-*
 i. 9.c:7. *num retentum est, multis jam, ac pene
 omnibus gregibus tuis, & per ceteras
 [partes] orbis imitantibus* More curious
 singing obtained almost in all Churches,
 even in the very self same age that it
 was first introduced at *Millain*: so great
 was the authority, or success, of the
Ambrosian precedent.

It remains onely here to shew (be-
 cause *St. Austin* in the fore-repeated
 place, seems at first a little to waver in
 his

his judgment, touching the expediency of this practice) what was his last resolution, upon full thought and consideration, in the case: and that he himself fully sets down in the same place.

Confes:
lib. 10:
c. 3.

How far he doubted, we have already said in his own words: After which he immediately proceeds resolving thus.

Veruntamen cum reminiscor lachrymas quas fudi ad cantus Ecclesie tue, in primordiis recuperata fidei, &c. "Not-

"withstanding, saith he, when I re-
"member the tears, which I shed at
"the singing of thy Church in the be-
"ginning of the recovery of my faith,
"and that even now being affected at
"the same, I am moved, not so much
"with the bare singing it self, as with
"the things which are sung, they be-
"ing sung in a clear voice, and with
"the meekest melody, I again acknow-
"ledge the great profitableness of
"this institution. Thus I fluctu-
"ate betwixt the danger of sensible
"pleasure, and the sense of wholesome
"advantage: but I am rather induced
"(not so indeed as to pass an irrevoca-
"ble sentence) to approve the cus-
stome.

"Some of such singing in the Church :
 "to the end , that by this delectation
 "of the ears , weaker minds may rise
 "up to holy affections. Yet when it
 "so happens , that the singing moves
 "me more , than the thing which is
 "sung , I confess my self so far to sin ,
 "as that I deserve punishment : and in
 "this case , it were better not to hear
 "singing. The result is (exactly pro-
 portionable to what we have above
 determined) *singing is wholesome* , to
 be approved , desired and commended,
 as far as it is an *help* to devotion : but if
 through too much *curiosity* it *prejudice*
distinct understanding , and directing
 the *intention* of the mind towards God,
 a plainer course were better.

After St. *Ambrose* , many of the Fa-
 thers , as well *Greek* as *Latine* , compo-
 sed very artificial , lofty and admira-
 ble Hymns , many in regular verse ,
 some rather in the *Dithyrambick* way ,
 & some fewer in a kind of Prose , cut out
 into short and incise clauses. That sever-
 al of these were , even in the days when
 they were composed , sung in publick ,
 cannot well be questioned ; And it
 must

must be confest of that Seraphical Hymn (whether of St. *Ambrose* singly, or S. *Ambrose* & S. *Austin* jointly, cannot, it may be, be determin'd) called the *Te Deum*. The *Romanists* in their common daily Offices, & in their more solemn extraordinary Processions, pretend to retain many of them still: one of St. *Hilary's*, thirty seven or more of St. *Ambrose's*, eight of St. *Gregorie's*, two of St. *Bernard's*, & more of others: though if those be of such Original, their Holy Fathers the Popes have altered somewhat more in them than false quantities. But to let them pass: Those Hymns, being writ in strict measures, must needs have some melodies more proportionate and peculiar to them, than a plain pronunciation: so that consequently, the Church-singing in these Ages, must gradually have advanced to more of art.

What date the particular gradations, by which it rose to its present perfections are to bear, I am not able to give account. The ancient *Grecians*, *Aristoxenus*, *Enclid*, &c. whose Musical works we have still extant, had indeed, I know, highly improved Musick long before

Gavan.
in Ru-
br: Bre-
viar.
Sect. 5.
c. 6.

this time : The Diatonick, Chromatick and Enharmonick scales, were distinctly all stated ; but I do not believe the Fathers, or the Christian people, to have been much acquainted with these curiosities. It is generally agreed, that, of all Church-singing, that used by the Eastern Church, was the sweetest and most modulate (St. *Ambrose*, as we have seen, took thence his pattern) and the cause and Original hereof we can well judge no other, than the remains of that Art introduced by *David* into the Church-use, in the flourishing state of the *Jewes* : which art, though it had been much broken by the calamities of the *Jewish* Church, yet we cannot conceive, but some scatterd parts thereof were propagated from fathers to children, and so continued down to the times of Christianity ; for that even the very present *Jewes* pretend to somewhat of such a Tradition. This being allowed to be the Original of whatever artificial singing came into the *Primitive* Church, and withall it being admitted, what has been before proved, that the Christian singing in the *First* Church

Church, and for some considerable time, was most plain, let us see by what degrees art prevailed. The first step thereto, which I find on record, is the fifteenth Canon of the Council of *Laodicea*. Μὴ δύνῃ, πλείον των χειρικῶν ψαλμῶν, ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀμβωνί ἀναβαίνει των, ἢ ἀπὸ διεδόχης ψαλμῶν, ἑαυτοὺς τίνας ψάλλοντες ἐκκλησίᾳ. “ That
 “ none should sing in the Church, but
 “ the Canonical singers, which went
 “ up into the Desk, and read out of
 “ the Church-book. The occasion of
 this Canon, undoubtedly was, some
 confusion arising from the singing of
 the promiscuous multitude, together
 with the Canonical singers; the one sin-
 ging by art, or at least aiming at some-
 what of art, and the other in a more
 plain, but haply a little clamorous
 way. Yet still for the particular sense
 of this Canon, and the practice ensu-
 ing thereon, we shall find our selves
 something at a loss. *Zonaras* thus com-
 ments on it, Ἐυταξίας βίβλινται &c. “ The
 “ Fathers of the Synod would have
 “ modesty and good order to be kept
 “ in the Church. Wherefore they do
 “ not say, that every one may sing in
 O o 2 the

2 Tim.
IV, 13.

“ the Church that will , but onely the
 “ Canonical fingers ; those namely of
 “ the Clergy , who are ordained and
 “ appointed thereto , and who sing out
 “ of the Church-book , (*διεσιεξε*) That
 “ they call *διεσιεξε* , which St Paul called
 “ the Parchments.—for the word signi-
 “ fies skins, of which Parchment is made ;
 “ and it is plain , the Fathers here call
 “ the Church-books *διεσιεξε*. And one
 would think , that the Commentatour
 had fully hit the sense of the Text :
 But hear what *Balsamon* a great Cano-
 nist , and no less than Patriarch of *Anti-*
ock , saith on the same ; *Τὸ συμφωνεῖν ἢ λα-*
λεῖν ἐν τῷ εκκλησίᾳ οὐ κηρύσσεται *The Laity were*
not forbidden to sing together with the
Quire ; but with this Proviso, as both
 his foregoing and following words en-
 force, that they did *sequi* not *ducere* :
 They might follow and take their parts,
 either alternately , or in closes mo-
 destly , as the use was. And this will
 well enough accord with what we have
 said in the foregoing Section; and is fur-
 ther proved , by that passage of Saint
Chrysostom , recording the use in his
 dayes , which were considerably la-
 ter

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ter than this Council. O ἰάμνη ἰάμνη μὴ

ἦν, καὶ πάντες ὑπῆσαν, ὡς ἔτι ἰδοὶ εὐμαρῆς ἡ οὖν

ἡ εὐμαρῆς *The singer singeth alone, & though*

all strike in, and sing softly after him, or

take the closes, yet the voice comes as

from one mouth. But what then is the

distinct sense of the Canon, or the re-

straint thereby laid on the People? It

is this, saith *Balsamon*: Many of the

common Laity took upon them the parts

of the Clergy, and not onely begun

the Psalms, but sung too ἁπλοῦς πᾶσι τὰ ὑ-

ποφαιμῶν, other things than were writ

in the Church-books (not therefore al-

lowed) "These things, saith he, the

"Fathers forbidding, ordain that none

"but the Clerks, which go up into

"the Desk or stalls, should (κατὰ ἑκάστην)

"begin the divine Hymns—nor sing any

"thing besides what was writ in the

"Church-books. So that according to

this Authour, the Canon provides not

onely against a rude, irregular manner

of singing, but also against introducing

unallowed Hymns: and as to the later

chiefly, if his comment give its true

sense. However, that hereby a more

orderly course of singing was designed,

O o 3 can

In 1.ad
Cor:
Hom:
36.

In No.
tis ad
Can 15
Laod.

cannot be denied, there being another Canon of this Council (namely , the last but one) which is directly intended against singing strange & uncanonical Psalms or hymns; & we may not think the Fathers in the *LIX.* Canon did forget the *XV*, and meerly tautologize. This therefore we may take to have been one step towards more regular and artificial singing.

Having now heard of *Canonical* singers, it will be expedient to consider, what kind of persons these were, and how they were made so; for that this possib'ly may give us some further light into the point in hand. Whereas therefore *Zonaras* plainly calls them ordained persons, and both he and *Balsamon* reckon them as being of the Clergy, it would seem, that some of the meaner of the Clergy were in those dayes particularly appointed to this Office: but we must know, it is not necessary, that they be ordained persons, or properly of the Clergy, who shall be reckoned Canonical singers. Amongst all the Orders of the *Romish* Church, the *Singer* or *Psalmist* is none: And it is, saith

Sua-

Suarez, the constant doctrine of all our Divines, that the Psalmist properly is no Clerk; yea, a Priests choosing and appointing him to that Office, suffices to his constitution. And if it be so with them now, much more was it so in those plainer and more simple ages. It is therefore observable, that the Canon gives them not that style: so that I conceive the Canonists to have called them Clerks, onely at large, or in an improper sense; and in favour of them; and that in the same acceptation (proportionably) *Zonaras* his *ἱεροψαλμῆς* and *ἱεροψαλμῆς* may be interpretable onely of their being appointed to this Office, having been approved and found able for performance therein. But I am not concerned to justify in strictness every *Glossators* terms: Let the Psalmists, or Singers, be ordained persons for that time, and in those Churches, or not; it is certain, in the *Western* Church, and since, they have not necessarily been so: though I could wish in our Church they were; provided all were fit for that Holy state, and their education had accomplit them (as it might have

De
Relig.
Tom.
2. l. 4.
c. 9.

have been ordered, and in some Cathedrals is) in more liberal arts, than one. To the point in hand: From about this time, the name *Singers*, as noting a particular Office, becomes frequent in our Ecclesiastical Writers: Now except we will make these *Canonical singers* no more than plain *Readers* (as truly to me seems unreasonable we should, seeing that *Scripturas legere* & *Psalmos canere*, were different parts of the publick Service, even in *Tertullian's* dayes) we must then admit them to have been persons, who had more of dexterity and art in singing, than the common sort, either of the Clergy or People. And this not being to be had without mens addicting themselves thereto, and something of exercise and institution, we must conclude, that in the end of the third, and so more in the fourth century, some kind of artificial singing grew in request, and was both studied and practised: and that such Christian persons who were best Proficients therein, and could with most readines, gravity, grace and cleareness (*Præcinere* and *præire verba*)
sing

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sing the Psalms and Canonical Hymns before the people, and set all in, were appointed peculiarly to this Office; to the end, that the people might take, as out of their mouths, and after them, what they were to sing, and withall might be kept in some tolerable consent and harmony. And this, if we do not admit, considering the Christian commonalty could not have all the Psalms and Canonical Hymns without book, considering also they were not then generally book-learned, and had not that plenty or frequency of books and copies, which we have, for them to sing thereout, it cannot be conceived how the whole Assembly should vocally join in such publick Offices, which yet it is evident, and in a manner generally agreed, they did.

But whatsoever I have said touching any Essayes of more artificial Musick appearing in this age, I would have so understood, as that all their art was most plain, suitable to that the state of the Church. We are assured by the Authour of the *Answers* to the Orthodox in *Justin Martyr's Works* (which Quæst. 107. though

though haply they be not his, were certainly written in the beginning of the third century at the farthest) that then
 τὸ ἀπλὸν ἤκουον ὑπερλίαντα, there was but *simply singing left*, and no use of any *instrumental Musick* in the Church; for what then could be expected of that nature? And as to curiosity in Vocal Musick, *Balsamon* speaks not onely the practice, but, in his own sense, the law of those dayes, ὅτι πληροὺς μενεχματα καὶ τὰ θυμολογὰ μολω-

In Can.
 15.
 Conc.
 Laod.

δύματα πατρὶς κακώματα. "The small fine tunings of the voice, and extravagant modulations, were altogether torbid to the singers. And though I said, *St. Ambrose* took up a more artificial and melodious way of singing from the *Easterlings*, yet understand me how farre. That Excellently Learned Countrey-man of ours had searched more into all sorts of Musick and other Rarities, than ever I can hope for opportunity to do, who pronounced himself much deceived, if the Eastern Musick ever improved further than Plain-song.

Mr.
 John
 Grego-
 ry Ox-
 on.

Wherefore I must conclude the same, not onely touching the *Ambrosian* practice, but touching whatsoever singing

Ephrem

Ephrem Syrus, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *St. Chrysostome*, or any other of the Fathers of these ages, used with the Hymns and Antiphons which they composed, or with the Psalms of *David*, which any of them introduced, in their dayes, into publick use in the Churches where they lived or presided. This is the summe of what I can find to be said, touching any Artificial Musick brought into the Church, for three or four hundred years and upwards after Christ.

The next advance I can perceive song to have had in Church use, falls into the end of the sixth century. About that time flourished *Gregory the Great*, a man, whom none of his successors ever equalled, and very diligent in regulating and accomplishing (as no doubt he thought) all the publick Offices of the Church. He stored his Church with Antiphons, and amongst other things, wrote *Antiphonarium diurnum & nocturnum*; as I conceive, sets of *Antiphons* for day and night: Then as to Musick, the Tunes in which we commonly chant the Psalms, if we

Platina.
in Vit.
Greg. I.

Cent. 6.
cap. 7.

may believe Tradition, are most of them of his compofure, and indeed the whole body of the old Plain-fong in our Cathedral use. The *Centuriators* of *Magdeburg* report out of *Joannes Diaconus*, who writ his Life, that he set up a Singing-school at *Rome*, and taught therein himself. But whofo confiders all Musical Monuments of his left, which the *Romish* Quires pretend for the main to exhibit & follow, must still acknowledge nothing of his above meer

Musices Choralis
Medulla, five Can-
tus Gregoriani tradi-
tio. Colonia. 1670.

Plain song; *All Notes of the same measure and power.* Notwithstanding, that both Will in his dayes, and some time before, it was

not otherwise, I cannot impute to want of Will, but of Skill: So mean was the progress most arts yet had made, so low their flight, in the Christian World,

- et 6. Of instrumental Musick introduced into Church-use under Christianity, we shall meet with nothing till the seventh century, and there is some question whether then: And yet I do not think this, as hereafter I shall shew, any rea-

reasonable prejudice to our present practice in this kind. I know indeed that *Durantus*, and out of him *Suarez*, and some other Moderns, pretend much more antiquity for the Christian use hereof. The onely authority, which *Durantus* produces for its elder date, is out of one *Julianus* on *Job*; & he says, if truly cited, Instruments were used in Churches before his time; but by whom, or where, he sayes not, possibly among the *Jews*. And though I find one *Julianus* Archbishop of *Toledo* in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, & some Notes of his to reconcile opposite places of Scripture, & particularly out of *Job*, yet no such passage therein can I find; and if I did, I have reason enough to suspect the validity of such blind authority, there being so many testimonies of known integrity to the contrary. That seems much more plausible, which is alledged touching *Vitalian*, of whom indeed *Platina* saies, *Cantum ordinavit, adhibitis ad consonantiam, ut quidam volunt, Organis*, *He new-modelled singing, taking in, as some say, Musical instruments for better filling up.* I have translated

De ri-
tib. Ec-
cles.
Catho.
lib. 1.
c. 13.

In Vir.
Vital.

Organis Musical instruments : for so the word signifies in its old Ecclesiastical use. *Organa dicuntur instrumenta Musicorum*, saith St. *Austin* (it those Expositions be his) and he calis the Harp and the Psaltery *Organa*. *Organum vocabulum est generale omnium Vasorum Musicorum*, saith *Isidorus Hispal.* But to return. The same thing, it is true, is said of *Vitalian* by others. Now this *Vitalian* came into his See in the year 683. saith *Platina* : in the year 655. saith *Baronius* and *Bellarmino*, I think more rightly. But though, *Quidam volunt*, in *Platina's* language, some will have it, that *Vitalian* brought in Musical instruments into Church-use, *alii nolunt*, others and better authorities deny it. And particularly, that Text of *Aquinas* is unanswerable as to the matter of fact he speaks of, though the reason, which he gives, is to pass amongst his other errors, as shall hereafter be proved. *Instrumenta Musica, sicut Citharas & Psalteria, non assumit Ecclesia in divinas laudes, ne videatur Judaizare* : " The Christian Church " uses not Musical instruments, as Harps

In Plat.

56.

Orig.

l. 2. c.

20.

2d1.

2d2.

Q. 91.

A. c. 2.

“ Harps or Psalteries, in the Divine
 “ praises, lest she should seem to Juda-
 ize. As to Judaizing, he needed not
 have feared it; Musical instruments be-
 ing first brought into the Worship of
 God, not upon any Jewish ceremonial
 precept, but upon natural expediency
 and reason, and not without the secret
 instinct of God, as shall be made ap-
 pear, God willing. But that then
 they used not Musical instruments in
 the Church-service, is as plainly said
 by him, as a thing can be (Now he
 was in his height about the year 1264)
 And thus much is expressly confest by
 his learned Commentator *Cajetan*, and
 by the great Casuist *Navarr*. Nor is
 that any other but a poor evasion,
 which *Soto*, *Suarez*, and some other
 Writers use, that *St. Thomas* spoke not
 of *Organs*, but of other less Musical in-
 struments; *Organs*, having been long
 before his time, namely as before said,
 pretended to have been introduced by
Vitalian. For mine own part, I could
 be glad, were it made out, they were
 of much longer standing in the Christi-
 an Church than *Vitalian* himself: but I
 love

love to assert no more, than *I* apprehend *I* can prove; nor have *I* any so ill conceit or diffidence of our cause, as to suppress what *I* know is objected, or objectionable against it. *I* say therefore they who affirm *Vitalian* brought in *Organa*, must understand the word in that large sense, before mentioned, wherein it signifies any Musical instruments, and not particularly of what we now call Organs: For the present *Organ* is not an instrument of such antiquity in the *Western* World, nor indeed any where else so ancient, as commonly thought. The *Hebrew* Organ, according to *Maimon*, was only a Metal-pipe, though of what fashion *I* cannot find. The inventor, or time of the invention of our present Organ, those who have purposely writ hereof, cannot tell. The eldest account, to be found of it, is a description of it, produced out of an Anonymous *Greek* Philosopher, & him too without date of age, who calls it, *μικρον Ὀργανον, ή μέγα ψαλτήριον, και χροστήριον.*

“The biggest instrument, the great
 “Psaltery, the Hand-organ; *ψαλτήριον ἄχρον*
δις και ἀσυντακτικόν, and many other names:

Marin.
 Mer-
 sen. de
 instru.
 Harm.
 l. 3. in
 init.

by

by which, it is concluded to have been a *Græcian* invention. There is also a very ingenious Epigram of the Emperour *Julian's*, in description of it, produced by the same hand, I mean *Mersennus's*, which shews, it must have been elder in *Greece* than the year 360. But it is agreed, saith the learned *Mr. Gregory*, treating of the time when first the *Nicene Creed* began to be sung, that "the first Organ that was ever
"seen in the *West*, was sent over into
"France to King *Pipin*, from the Greek
"Emperour *Constantine Copronymus*,
"about the year 766. (*Res adhuc Germanis & Gallis incognita, instrumentum Musicæ maximum, &c.*) A thing
"then unknown to that part of the
"World, a vast Musical instrument,
"cal'ed an Organ, made of Tin pipes,
"and those blown with bellows, and
"struck with the hands and feet. After this pattern, the first which was made in the *Western* parts, was for the Emperour *Lewis the Godly*, about the year 820. as *Bellarmino* himself in a manner confesseth. So that upon the whole, it is in a sort impossible *Vitalian*

Greg.
Poll-
hum.
pag 49

Annal.
Boior.
lib. 3.

Co. 3.
p. 1. 3.
17.

could introduce the Organ. And that it came not suddenly into Churches, is already apparent. But though I have said the Organ was not in use in the Church in *Aquinas* his time, yet immediately after, it must be acknowledged: for it is twice mentioned by *Durandus* (who writ about the year 1300) as received before his time, and said to have been taken into the Christian Church, in imitation of *David's* and *Solomon's* practice, no bad precedents in devotion. I could produce some later Canons, for the due regulating Organical Musick in the Church: as that of the *Concilium Senonense*, Decret, Mor. c. 17. *Organorum usum Ecclesia à Patribus ad cultum servitiumque divinum recepit. Nolumus itaque quod Organicks instrumentis resonet Ecclesia impudica aut lasciva melodia, sed &c.* That of the Council of *Colen* soon after, much to the same effect. *De offic. & vit. Cleric. cap. 15.* But all these and other authorities, suppose them introduced; and of the strict time of their coming in, perhaps a more particular account cannot be given, than now has been.

The

Ratio-
nal. l. 4.
c. 34, &
l. 5, c. 2.

The Organ being thus (silently) come in, an instrument of such admirable variety and fulness, and, as its very name imports, the chief of all Musical instruments, or in a sort all in one, it is reasonable to expect Vocal Musick should advance apace; and so undoubtedly it did, though to speak precisely, giving each gradation its proper time and Authour, I am not able. I have above said, the utmost that the *Eastern* Musick ever rose to, was meer Plain-song: and if we may believe what is pretended still to be the *Gregorian* Musick, even that advanced no higher. Nor are there wanting those, who affirm thus much touching all the Musick of the Ancients, contending, that variety of parts was never heard of till very late dayes; and that if the Ancients sung to any instrument, as it is sure they did, both to Wind-instruments, and Stringed ones especially, they sung the same they played. I have many reasons, which perswade me the contrary, touching the old *Grecian* Musick, and induce me to say, that though they might sing, some of them, the

Qq 2

same

same which was plaid, as we do to instruments, on which more parts than one is plaid, when a *Chorus* sings; yet supposing with them, more than one sung, generally they sung with some difference of Parts. I am sure, out of their own Books, that they had a different way of pricking (*διπλὴ γὰρ ἔχει τὴν χρῆσιν, ἐν ἀρίσταις καὶ ἀρχαῖς*) “ for, say they, we have a “ double use of it, for singing and for “ playing: and that no one voice could sing all that they ordinarily played; for they denied any voice to be of greater compass than 12 Notes: Now it is certain their old scale (whatsoever some have spoken of it without book, who write of the *Grecian* Musick, *nullo Græcorum Musicorum lecto*, as is complained, and proved of *Kircher* himself) exceeds that of *Guido's* by a whole *Diateffaron*: This *Meibonius* proves in his Notes on *Euclid's* introduction to Musick, pag. 50, 51. Further, it appears by a multitude of passages, which I could produce out of their Books, that they had difference of time, as well as of Keys: Now what great use there could be of all these, & to what purpose their discourses of

Bac-
chius.

Mar:
Meib:
in præf.
ad 7.
ant. q.
Music.
auto-
res.

of consonants or concords, of the due consecution of intervals, and many more like points should be, I am utterly at a loss, if they had not amongst them what we mean by composition, I am sure I meet with the very name amongst them (*Σύνθεσις*) and Rules for the contriving it *Harmonically*. As to matter of fact, though there is little, that I know of, to be said, whatever they set being all lost, as far as I can hear, yet that passage cited out of *Athenæus lib. 14.* by *Glareanus*, is not to be contemned, that *Pythagoras Zacynthius* so plaid (*Bassim, alteramque vocem, ac acutam*) "A Bass, and another part, and a sharp one or treble, that if any had only heard, and not seen him, they would have thought they had heard three Harps plaid on. And for a conclusion, it is to me an uncontrollable evidence, that they had a long time both understood, and practiced variety of parts, & even something of proper discant, because they invented the *Organ*; an instrument which does *miscere carmina* (as in the *Epigram* of it) put in all parts with all variety of time.

Aristid. Quintil: de Musica: l. 1: circamed.

Glareanus. Decar. lib. 3. Proem.

Julian. Imp.

But though I thus contend artificial Musick, & that of admirable variety, might be of such old standing in the World, I do not believe it came into the Church-use, but with the *Organ*: And that even then, they, at first, and for some time, contented themselves with the plainest sort of *Counterpoint*, Note answering Note, Semibrief Semibrief, Minim Minim, in the several parts, without any divisionary discant. For as to the several present Ornaments and Figurations of Harmony, they are to be confessed (to use Mr. *Gregorie's* words) but a *Yesterdaies business*, a new though very rare invention. Notwithstanding, I do not imagine it blameworthy, to use them in the Worship of God; provided those general rules, before laid down, touching singing to God, be not transgressed: For I would fain know, why I may not sing to God in the *Musick* of the age, as well as pray or preach in the *language* of the age. And I doubt not before I have done, to convince those adversaries, which open lowdest against our Cathedral use, that they themselves, not onely use, but plead

plead for (as Ordinances too of Christ) several practices, that are much more novel than *Organs*, or our Choral-singing.

In the mean while, let us see what Churches have received artificial and instrumental Musick; or at least, where we do not find any publick acts of Churches approving thereof, what has been the judgment of their more eminent Doctors, touching the use of it in publick worship, where it may conveniently be had. Touching the *Romish* Church, I need say nothing; they have Musick but too much: and by this their practice, as well as by others, violate all the Apostolical Lawes for publick edification. Onely, that some people may know, they are not in all things so opposite to the Pope, as in zeal they design, I will tell them, that there is no Organ in the Popes Chapel: because Organs are not of necessity in the Christian Church, say *Cajetan* and *Sotus*. And, is his Holiness then so strict an observer and Patriot of the simple, essential, necessary Christianity, as that no ceremony, or pru-

Sec. 7.

Ad Thom: 2da, 2da, q: 91. D. Just: & ju. l. 1. q. 5.

den

dential profitable constitution will down with him? Or, because he is Universal Bishop, is he priviledged to be singular? Or rather, because, forsooth, he is, under Christ, the supreme Lawgiver, therefore he may choose what order he will be conform to, and what not? This in truth, together with some other little politick formality, is the true reason, as we well know, why Organs sound not so well in his Holiness's Chappel, as a dozen or two of Eunuchs voices, which possibly, as we Hereticks think, have as little necessity, and less decency; let his creatures say what they please. As to the *Eastern Church*, there is perhaps no Organ, or instrumental Musick therein. Alas! in most places, they have scarce the face of a Church: few Priests, and those generally ignorant, even to stupidity; fewer Oratories, and (if we may believe some, who have given us the latest accounts of the present state of certain of those Churches) scarce the advantage of Wine enough for the Communion. The good God in his time return and visit them. But I presume

Tho:
Smith
in Sept.
Afr. Ec-
cles.
Notit.

sume, the account chiefly expected here, will be of the practice of the Reformed Churches. And I should in my judgment be much guilty of the breach of the fifth commandment, did I not give my Mother the Church of England the first place of dignity amongst them.

It is not the flattery, or over-weening mistake of a fond Son of Hers, but the just censure of an Alien: *Si me conjectura non fallit, totius Reformationis pars integerrima est in Anglia, ubi cum studio Veritatis viget studium antiquitatis.*

Isaac.
Casan-
bon. ad
Cl. Sal-
maf.
Ep. 40.

“If my judgment doth not deceive me (saith the learned *Isaac Casaubon*)” the
“sincerest part of the Reformation is
“in *England*, where, together with
“the study of Truth, flourisheth also
“the study of Antiquity. This indeed
was the design of our Church, not to
bring in a new-coin’d Christianity, but
to reform the doctrine and practice of
corrupted Christianity, according to
the Primitive purity: for which,
though she have found many Enemies
amongst unreasonable men, who are
resolved to like nothing, but what is
new, or their own, yet *Wisdom* is,

and will be, *justified of her children*; and we do not doubt but *The children, which the Lord shall give* our Mother, *after the loss of those other*, who have quitted their duty to her, *shall yet say, The place is too strait for us*, if there be nothing found in us more displeasing to God, than this the Rule of our Reformation. With such calmness and Christian prudence our Church proceeding, did not find her self concerned, to melt her Organ-Pipes into Bullets, to purge Liturgies and Anthems by fire, & to *destroy Cathedrals*, those glorious *Houses of God in the Land*; it being much more worthy to reduce to due order, than to abolish and pervert, what was well designed, and there being no footsteps of such Christianity in the Primitive ages, where there was more temptation to tumultuous practices. Thus it came to pass, that God was, and is, worshipped in our Church both *in spirit and in truth*, and yet in beauty, decency and sweetness.

As to Forreign Reformed Churches, it having pleased God to plant them, where they are either more obnoxious

to

to the incursions , or subject to the power of *Romanists* , there was perhaps never any in the World in so settled a condition , as the *English* , and therefore it cannot be expected , that there should be either at the beginning of the Reformation, or in constant continuance, such glory and order to be found in any, as in it. We were certainly once the Envy of our Neighbours , and might be so still, were it not the endeavour of some amongst us (though I hope unwittingly and not with design) to make us their scorn. But to come close to the point : All the Forreign reformed, in a manner, follow the *Lutheran* or *Calvinian* platform ; and we may in good measure see , what we are to expect from them in the present case, by considering the sentiments of their great Doctors therein. As to *Luther* s own judgment, it was certainly for us: Speaking of the Communion-service, that it ought in every nation to be in the Mother-tongue , he saith , *Missam Vernaculam opto magis quam promitto ; quod impar sim huic operi , quia Musicam simul & Spiritum desiderat* : “ I rather

Apud
Melch.
Adam.
in vit.
Luth.
p. 153.

“ with a Communion-service in our Mo-
 “ ther-tongue , than promise it , being
 “ not sufficient for so great a Work :
 “ for it requires both Musick and a Spi-
 rit. It is plain hereby , what he de-
 signed , and would have had , though
 possibly , by reason of the troubled
 estate of affairs in his dayes, he was never
 able to effect it. I know indeed, that
 there is a passage cited, at the second
 hand , by a disguised Author, come to
 my sight , since I begun this Work ,
 wherein *Luther* is said to have called
Organs amongst other things , the *En-*
signes or *Badges* of Baal. As to this,
 First , there is no reference given to
 any place in *Luther* , neither by this
 Anonymous Writer , nor the Authour
 from whom he takes the citation , for
 the searching the time , occasion , con-
 nexion , or manner of this speech of
Luther's. Secondly , all men know *Lu-*
ther had his heats , and sometimes too
 writ in them , what he repented of af-
 ter : and it is a censure which he
 himself passed of several of his own
 Works (*cum judicio legenda sunt omnia*)
 that all things in those pieces were to be
 read

Apolo.
 pro
 eject.
 Angl.
 Minist.

Pref-
 xum
 1^o tom.
 Edic.
 Jan.
 1554.

read with judgment. Now there is a great difference betwixt what a man sayes in a little rant, as this seems to be said, and upon sober, mature and consciencious deliberation, in which temper, the former passage plainly was written. Lastly, we will give *Luther's* Disciples, that is, the *Lutheran* Doctours, leave better to understand their Teachers constant Doctrine, than strangers and adversaries. Thus therefore *H: Eckhardus*, Doctor of Divinity, and Superintendent of the Church of *Schwartzburg*: "*Luther* does indeed, in a certain place, call both Churches, and Altars, and Fonts, and Chalices, &c. the *Ensigns of Baal*, but not simply so, *Sed si singularis aliquis cultus illis affigatur*; it any special holiness be attributed to them, or conceived in them. And so much would we say too in the same case: for we plead not for them so, as to make them idols, or as necessary by divine institution, but only as convenient Utensils for the more orderly, comely and devout worshipping of God. And thus we have not onely *Luther* for us, but all the *Luther*

Fascic.
Con-
trov.
Theol.
c. 21.

ran Doctors, that ever I have seen. And it is certain, that most, if not all the *Lutheran* Churches, which have any tolerable settlement, in *Germany*, *Swedeland*, *Denmark*, the *Cantons* of the *Switzers*, and under the *Polish* Dominions, or where else, have received and practice the use of instrumental musick in the Worship of God, as well as we; and those who have it not, being of the same mind herein with their Brethren, reckon the want thereof amongst the number of their miseries. ^

ss
Revised. As to *Calvin*, he seems not to have been constant to himself in this matter; at least, not to have spoken with such perspicuity, or memory of what he said on different occasions, and at sundry times, as that it is easie to reconcile him with himself. We have said in his comments on the *I. to the Corinthians*, he professes, he doubted not at all but the Christians, from the very beginning, imitated the *Jewish* custom in singing Psalms: now it is sure enough, the *Jewes* sung Psalms to instruments. But it will be said for him, he

he is to be understood there of the things sung, or of singing absolutely, and in the general, not of so strict a manner of singing. Be it so: yet in his comment on the *Colossians*, chap. *III.* v. 16, he allows it properly to be the nature of a *Psalm*, that in the singing thereof (*adhibetur musicum aliquod instrumentum præter linguam*) "some musical instrument be joined to the voice: from whence it plainly follows, that if Christians ought to sing *Psalms*, as he allows, and the Text enforces, they are then to use therein musical instruments: And in his comment on *Amos*, Ad cap. 6. 5. he highly commends *David*, that where-
 "as being musical, and a lover of music, he might have privately delighted himself therewith, when he was now in peace and ease, and past all his dangers, yet he chose rather (*applicare musica instrumenta ad pietatis exercitium, ut mentem suam ad Deum attolleret*; and again, *Ut scilicet resonarent laudes Dei in Templo, ut inde unà cum aliis sese erigeret ad pietatis studium*) "to apply musical instruments to the exercise of devotion, that he might there.

“ thereby raise his mind towards God,
 “ and that they sounding the praises of
 “ God in the Temple, he might excite
 “ both himself & others to the study of
 “ Godliness. Who would desire a great-
 er *Encomium* of the use of musical in-
 struments in the divine Worship? Or
 what can be said more express in ac-
 knowledgment of their natural and
 perpetual usefulness for the furtherance
 of devotion? One might now expect,
Calvin should have set up Organs at *Ge-*
neva: at least, that he should have
 reckoned the want of them amongst
 some other things, which he was not
 able there to redress, and which he
 did (*ferre, quia non utile est contendere*)
 “ endure, because it was to no pur-
 “ pose to contend with that people.
 But we shall elsewhere hear him in ano-
 ther tune, reckoning all instrumental
 musick, and singing thereto, in the
 Worship of God, to have been (*pars*
legalis Pædagogicæ) “ part of the chil-
 “ dish rudiments of the Law, — foolishly
 “ borrowed from the *Jewes* — introdu-
 “ ced into the Christian Church through
 “ inconsiderate zeal, and impious pre-
 sum-

Epist.

3 3.

Com-
ment.
in Ps.

33. 2.

“sumption. More of this nature may be picked up out of the same Work. Truly, a man who had read those other forementioned passages, might have expected better language: onely *Mr. Calvin* had seldome much of that to spare. However, as good as he (though in other points too much his followers) were in this point of another mind: Particularly, it was both more Christianly and judiciously determined by *Peter Martyr*, “That if there be any Church which use not singing, for reasons which to her seem good, she may not therefore be justly condemned: provided she contend not the thing to be in its own nature, and by the command of God, unlawful, nor upon that occasion brand, or exclude from the fellowship of Christ, other Churches, who use both singing and Musick. *Zanchy* yet goes further, upon the V. to the *Ephes.* v. 19. *Multiplex & magnus est usus hujus Musice*, &c. “Manifold and great, saith he, is the use of this Musick. First, that the glory of God may thereby be made more illustrious and august. Second-

Loc.
Com.
class. 3.
loc. 13.
p. 29.

Vid. 3c
Zanch.
in Coloss.
16.

ly, The mind of man is after a mar-
 veilous sort affected therewith. Third-
 ly, Our heart being by this musick
 made more cheerful, the grace of
 God dwelling in us, is stirred up.
 The same is the judgment of *Diodati*,
 and many of the later *Calvinists*, who,
 though it was the fate of some of them,
 to be necessitated to be without Organs
 in their Churches, have declared their
 desire of them. And from this consent of
 their Doctors undoubtedly it is, that
 Organs are at this day in use in most
 places of the *Belgick* Churches, and a
 long time have been; as is evident by
 the Decrees of their Synods, forbid-
 ding the use of them upon Political and
 common occasions, out of the divine
 Worship, and commanding they should
 sound nothing but *Psalms*, and the prais-
 es of God. And not onely they, but
 several of the Pastors of the Reformed
French Churches, who live in places
 where they can conveniently have Or-
 gans, have also introduced them, as
 the worthy *Dr. Durell* testifies, touch-
 ing the Reverend *Rockfort*, Pastor of
 the *French* Church at *Rotterdam*, and
 others.

Vid.
Durell.
Apol.
 P. 140.

Vindic.
Ecclef.
Angl.
 c. 27.

Upon

Chap. II. Duty of Singing. 323

Upon the whole then, as to the *Sec. 8.*
Practice of the Primitive Church, this
has been abundantly made evident, that
from the very infancy of Christiani-
tie, *singing to God* has ever been
in use: that it has been a *con-*
stant part of the *Publick Worship*, and
the fear of Persecution it self, stopped
not the mouths of the Primitive Chri-
stians, but they were hereby *first dis-*
covered. I might have added for the
further asserting this practice, that the
time, when it was thus exemplarily in
publick and universal use, fell into the
later dayes of St. John the beloved dis-
ciple, who, according to *Eusebius*,
saw the beginning of *Trajan's* Reign.
There has been indeed *Variety* in the
practice of the several ages: Some while
they sung *inspired Hymns*, some while
Scripture: afterwards Hymns of *Hu-*
mane composure, but consonant (at
least supposed consonant) to Scripture
and Faith. These Hymns were some-
times in *Verse*, sometimes in *Prose*;
but howsoever, when of private compo-
sure, never admitted into publick use,
till they had at least past the approbati-

on of the Bishops of those Churches, where they were used. The *manner* and circumstances of singing too have been various : The first singing, was in a manner nothing but a *modulate pronunciation*, so that all sorts publickly and vocally joined as to some parts therein. Nor did the Christian people then content themselves with the *publick* practice, but at home and abroad, *every where* and upon all occasions and opportunities, all conditions and ages were employed therein. By degrees their singing became more refined and *artificial*; and a particular Order of men were bred up, and appointed hereto.

De Of. *Ex vetere* [*Judæorum*] *more*, Eccle-
 tic. Ec- *sia sumpsit exemplum nutriendi Psalmi-*
 clef. 1. 2. *stas, quorum cantibus ad affectum Dei*
 c. 12. *mentes audientium excitentur*, saith *Isto-*
dorus Hispalensis. And in process of
 time, *instrumental* Musick was added
 for the exciting devotion, for govern-
 ing the Voices of those who sung, and
making the praise of God more glorious :
 in which kind of musick, the *Organ*
 has generally now so obtained, through
 the very Reformed Church, that it
 may

may, in a sort, plead universality of approbation. This is the summe of the Progress of Christian-song, or of Church-musick, from its Primitive simplicity, to its present glory: Touching which I onely say, the Lord grant, the fervour of our devotion may, in some measure, answer the perfections of the present outward performances in this kind.

CHAP. III.

Of the *English Practice*, and the justifiableness thereof.

Sect. 1. *The fourth head of this Discourse.*

Different useage in singing observable in the practice of the English Church.

Sect. 2. What regularly is, or is to be sung in our Church. Sect. 3. Prayers may be sung, though of our Prayers, onely some responsory Petitions are artificially sung. Sect. 4. Of the Antiquity of singing the Book of Psalms in the alternate way. Sect. 5. What Reasons might induce the Church to this Practice. Sect. 6. Whether and how the Psalms are proper

to be sung in the Evangelical state. Sect. 7. Of Anthems, and what subject and form fittest for them. Sect. 8. Of Voluntaries. Sect. 9. Of putting the Psalms into metre; and the practice of other Reformed Churches herein. Sect. 10. Singing the English metrical Version stands in our Church, neither by law nor allowance, but by bare permission and connivance. Sect. 11. The gross indecencies and miscarriages common herein. Sect. 12. Whether instrumental musick in the Worship of God be lawful under the Evangelical state? Sect. 13. Whether it be expedient? Sect. 14. Answers to Objections. Sect. 15. A Transition to what remains.

Sec. 1. **H**AVING now the Practice of the Primitive Church, and of succeeding ages, before us, it follows according to what in the beginning was propounded, we proceed more narrowly to view *our own*, and to examine whether it be *justifiable*, according to the *Apostolical rules*, and *primitive or laudable precedents*. Now it is obvious to any mans
ob-

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observation, that there is at present practiced in our Church a double useage in singing: And I must ingenuously acknowledge, no two things which have the same name, and in any degree the same nature, common to them, can be more unlike one the other, than are our *Choral* and *Parochial* singing. And even in our most regular Quires, there are two different sorts of singing admitted, the *Gregorian* way or common Chants, and that more curious *Figurate* kind, in which our Services (as we call them) our Anthems, and some other parts of our Liturgy, are composed. Neither of these two last, according as generally used, can be challenged, as not being sufficiently Harmonious: and if in the later of them, the intemperate skill of some Masters have introduced too much curiosity and delicacy, as to point of composition, the fault is onely by excess of sweetness; of which hereafter. The Parochial way is indeed obnoxious in diverse regards, but of that also in its proper place. In the mean time, we begin with the examination of the Choral use, that being

much the more worthy to take place, and having more authority from the letter of the Law.

Sec. 2.

And first as to the matter, it is to be considered, whether what is according to law, or common custome sung, be in it self fit and meet. First, I do not account speaking or pronouncing in a Cathedral (that is a distinct, grave, plain audible tone) to be singing: for at that rate some might say (though with what reason, let themselves see) that we sing all. Now this being admitted, whatever is according to rule sung in our Quires, may be reduced to these heads, Psalms, Hymns, Creeds, or Prayers. That Psalms or Hymns in general are fit to be sung, cannot be denied; and for the particular Psalms sung with us, we shall suddenly, at large, consider them: and under Hymns at present, I comprehend Anthems. Of Creeds, we have two that are usually sung; the *Athanasian*, which is onely chanted or sung in the *Gregorian* way, on some more considerable Festivals; and that commonly called the *Nicene* Creed, which is curiously set by several

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ral hands, and constantly sung in the Communion-service. Now why any should deem it improper to confess our Faith in singing to God, I do not apprehend. What more apt to draw forth the exercise of faith, hope, gratitude & love, than the contemplation of the divine nature, of the incarnation of our Lord, of the office and mission of the Holy Ghost, than the commemoration of all the parts of our Redemption, of our present advantages in Church-communion, and of our future expectations? We do without vanity profess, that in the singing our Creed, we exercise these several Christian graces, and at the same time, both lift up our hearts to God in this our confession, and declare with joy before men and Angels, to the praise of our God, that we, from our hearts, receive these truths, and expect to be saved in the belief of them, blessing God, who has revealed them to us, and wrought in our souls a persuasion of them. What any can blame in this practice, I do not see. Some are of a mind, that the *Carmen Christo tanquam Deo*, that Hymn which the Pri-

mitive Christians used to sing to *Christ as God* in their early Assemblies, was their Creed, and the conjecture is not improbable. But touching the *Nicene* (though that we use is rather the *Constantinopolitan*) Creed, it is certain, it has been sung in the Church, in a manner, from the very compiling of it. "It was ordained (saith *Platina*) by this *Mark* (Bishop of *Rome*, about the year 336. according to *Bellarmin*) that on all solemn days, immediately after the Gospel (*Symbolum à Clero & populo magnâ voce decantaretur, eo modo quo fuerat in Niceno concilio declaratum*) "the Creed should be sung with a loud voice by the Clergy & people, in that form wherein it was explained in the *Nicene* Council. The same is said of him by *Durantus* and others. And both *Walafridus Strabo*, and *Berno* Abbot of *Augia*, produce the authority of the Council of *Toledo* aliedging, that it was also the usage of the *Eastern* Church so to sing it. To conclude, the singing not only the *Nicene*, but the *Athanasian* Creed too, is approved by several of the first Reformers: the *Nicene*, by *Luther* expressly, in the

In vita
Marci.

De rit.

l. i. c.

13.

Lio. de

reb. Ec-

cl: Li-

bel: de

Misc:

c: i:

com.

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communion Office which he modelled ; and the *Atbanasian* too , by *Peter Martyr* , in his common place touching singing. So that they must not onely condemn antiquity , and the practice of the Universal Church , but even the judgment of the Reformers, both *Lutheran* and *Calvinian* , who reprehend this practice.

Form.
Miss.
pro Ec-
cles.
Wit-
tenb.
Class. 3.
loc. 13.
paragr.
29.

It follows , that we speak something touching singing of Prayers ; for that this some have prejudice against in our Church, Now they who will say it is improper to sing Prayers, must, if they will, stand to that assertion, lay aside the singing of most of the Psalms; for they are not onely , all over , full of Petitions , but some of them in their very Titles called Prayers. *Pf. XVII. A prayer of David* : So too *Pf. LXXXVI. And Pf. XC. A prayer of Moses the man of God. Psal. CII. A prayer of the afflicted, when he is overwhelmed, and poureth out his complaint before the Lord. And Lastly, Pf. CXL. Maschil of David: A prayer when he was in the cave.* Yet it is certain , all these were both musically pend (designated therefore by the Holy Ghost to be

Sec. 3.

sung) and have been all along, as well as at present they are, sung by all sorts of Christians. They therefore who are for such a Reformation, which shall take away all singing of Prayers, must reform Scripture, as well as the Catholick practice of the Church in all ages. But let us consider, how small a portion of our Prayers are sung. All our Collects; and such like Prayers, are onely read in a distinct, plain and audible voice: If there be any variation of a Note in the close of the Prayer, for the retaining or exciting the attention of the people, that all may be ready to give their *Amen*, this is as much as is & is no more than needful, for the reasons intimated. But let those, who reprehend this, consider how impossible almost it is, frequently to repeat any form of words, but we shall insensibly, and of our own accord, fall into some tone: And with our severest censurers, though they use no form of Prayers, were not generally fallen into more affected, uncouth and ungrateful tuning, than any used in our Quires. Now if the Church, to prevent all draw-

drawling and indecent tones (which are aptest too to fall in, in the closes of Sentences) hath brought in the use of such regular & easie variation of accent, rather than singing, who shal charge her with imprudence ? Or rather, who ought not to commend her care ? This therefore not well bearing the name of singing, the onely Prayers amongst us, which any can say we sing, are the Versicles and responsory Petitions, in the dayly Morning and Evening Office, in the Litany, and in the Communion service. These are generally modulated in a very plain way, and at more solemn seasons sometimes sung after the newer figurate mode. Now if Prayers may be sung, why not these? which are many of them Verses taken out of the Psalms, and the rest of them concise sentences, resembling the Psal'mick Verses. Not to mention the gratefulness of this variety in the manner of Prayer (which in so long offices, to vulgar spirits, is not unnecessary) I must profess sincere'y, as to my self, this modulate way many times quickens, & calls in my attention, and draws out, and as it

were lengthens, devout breathings of soul: I speak it not in vanity, but in the fear of God, and for the good of others; nor do I doubt, but there are thousands who frequent our Quires, that can say the same. I will conclude all I shall say, touching singing Prayers, with the judgment of Mr. Calvin herein, *Certè, si ad eam, quæ Dei & Angelorum conspectum decet, gravitatem, attemperatus sit cantus, cum dignitatem & gratiam sacris actionibus conciliat, tum ad excitandos, in verum Precandi studium ardoremque, animos plurimum valet.* “Truly (saith he) if singing be “accommodated to that gravity, which “becomes the sight of God and Angels, “[and such we may safely say our singing is] “it not onely gains much grace “and veneration to holy performances, “but is of very great force, to stir up “mens minds, to real attention and fervour in prayer. In the judgment then of Mr. Calvin (however his present followers swerve from it) singing is so far from being unbecoming of the Office of prayer, that it is an help to its devouter performance.

But

Instit.

lib. 3.

c. 20.

Sec. 32.

But to come now more particularly to *sect. 4.* treat of singing the Book of Psalmes; which that we take intirely as they lye, by considerable portions in every dayes Worship, offends some, and is looked upon as a lip-labour, or a kind of Popish task of Devotion. *I* do not say, but that some are apt to satisfie themselves with the meer recital or chanting of them, that they go through the dayly partitions as a task, and rest in the outward performance: we are sorry for it, and dayly endeavour to redress it, nor do we want success herein, blessed be God: But *I* do say, the number of them is very great, who are not thus senseless, who heed, and understand, and sing them *with grace in their hearts*; and that the practice it self is highly laudable, and of singular conducency to edification. Taking that therefore for granted, *I* shall onely shew, for the reconciling all sober spirits hereto, that the use it self is of far greater antiquity in the Church, than that it can be suspected to be of Popish extraction: & then, that though the Psalms were calculated chiefly for the *Jewish* state and worship,

yet

yet they are not so improper for Christian mens mouths, as many may conceive.

Some there are, who would fetch this practice as far as from the Apostolical age, and conceive those injunctions, that Christian people should *speak to one another in Psalms, or Hymns*, or in St. James his language, that they should *sing Psalms*, to be meant even of David's Psalms. Nay, there are who go higher, even to our Lords own practice; & because he complained to his Father upon the Cross, in the words of the first verse of the two and twentieth Psalm, conclude him then to have used the whole Psalm: And further, observing that after his institution and celebration of his Supper, he, with his disciples, sung an Hymn, judge them to have sung the *Great Hallelujah*, or the CXIV. and four following Psalms, which they say, the *Jews* used to sing at the Passover. But these are onely conjectures: and probabilities of the lowest rank, are but bad arguments. Such proofs do but little service (especially now adayes) which are as soon refuted, as denied. It is most cer

certain the Hymns in those dayes were fitted to the present occasion by the Holy Ghost, inspiring their authours: and though much use might be made of the Psalms, as consisting, more than other books of passages, fit for devotion and praise, yet it was onely of scattered parts of them, as they were seasonable; according as is evident by that prayer of the Apostles, *Acts IV. 24*, & other like. To deal ingenuously then, the first instance, (as far as I know) which we have, favouring of this practice, is the passage above cited, on other occasion, out of *Tertullian*, *Ut quisque de Scripturis sacris, vel de proprio ingenio potest*, &c. By which it is plain, the primitive Christians used sometimes to sing the express words of Scripture. But this is yet very short of our orderly course day by day, and the alternate, or responsory way of singing. To fix this institution upon its true authour or time, is not easie. I find no less than four several pretended institutours hereof. The first is *St. Ignatius*, the third Bishop of *Antioch* after *St. Peter*: touching him, *Socrates* reports, that he saw a vision of

Apolo-
get. c.
39.

Hist.
Eccles. li.
6. c. 8.

Angels (like that of *Isaiab's*, *Isa. VI. 2, 3.*) praising God alternately; *Et formam canendi in eâ visione expressam, Ecclesiæ Antiochenæ tradidit, unde illa traditio ab omnibus Ecclesiis recepta est:*

“And he delivered to the Church of
 “*Antioch* the form of singing, which he
 “saw in that vision, from whence that
 “way of singing has been received by
 “all Churches. This single testimony
 is all the authority of ancient date, that *I*
 can find, producible for the pretence
 from *Ignatius*: and *I* must acknowledg,
 it is insufficient to work on my belief. So
 is also, what the *Magdeburgenses* cite
 out of a book, which *I* could never see,
 intituled *Fasciculus Temporum*, That
Pontianus Bishop of *Rome* appointed,
 the *Psalmes* should be sung in the
 Church night and day. This *Pontianus*
 came to that See in the year 233, & sate
 therein five years. But *I* meet with no
 such thing of him in *Ulatina*, or others:
 and there might be sung in the *Roman*
 Church, as *I* believe there were, cer-
 tain Hymns (which might be called
Psalmes in a large sense) and yet no
 singing *David's* *Psalmes* in course. The
 third

Cen.
 3. c2. 6.

third pretence is, that this institution came from *Flavianus* and *Diodorus*, men of great authority and holiness, but then not so much as Priests, in the City of *Antioch*, under the Empire of *Constantine*, about the year 340. who when their Orthodox & lawful Bishops were ever & anon expelled, and *Stephanus*, *Leontius*, & other *Arrians*, obtruded as Bishops, stoutly opposed the invading Heresie, gathered & kept together the sound believers, and διχῇ διελόντες τοὺς ᾠδὰς ἑκάστην ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ, ἢ διὰ δὲ δύο ἀνδράσιν ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστος ᾄδων. “dividing the Quires of those who “sung into two parts, taught them to sing “*David's* psalms. Which usage (saith the “author) being begun first at *Antioch*, “went forth and prevailed to the utmost “coasts of the World. The last of the assigned originals or institutions of this practice, is from *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome*, about the year 370. Touching him, *Platina* records, that he ordained (*Ut Psalmi quoque alternis vicibus in Ecclesiâ canerentur, in sineque eorum verba hæc ponerentur, Gloria Patri, & Filio, & Spiritui sancto*) “That “the Psalms should be sung alternately in

Theo-
doret.
Hist. li.
2. c. 24.

In vit.
Damas.

Concil.
Tom. I.

Ad an.
Chr.
60. n.
3. 43.

“in the Church, and at the end of
 “each should be added these words,
Glory be to the Father, and to the Son,
and to the Holy Ghost. There is also
 amongst the Epistles of this *Damasus*'s
 to *St. Hierom*, one, in which he com=
 plains to him (*Psalentium nec nos tene-*
tur, nec Hymni decus in nostro ore cog-
noscutur) “That they had then at
 “None no fingers, nor was the glory
 “of an Hymn known in their mouths.
 To which there is a pretended answer
 from *St. Hierom*, advising him to set up
 singing the Psalms, & to adjoin to the end
 of each *Glory be to the Father, &c.*
 and *Hallelujah*. But these Epistles, say
Baronius, and others, are forged: the
Roman Church sung the Psalms before,
 and all that *Damasus* set up, was a Ver=
 sion of them from the Septuagint,
 brought out of the *East* by *St. Hierom*,
 to whose Writings he gave authority.
 In summe, if *Damasus* were authour of
 the alternate singing of the Psalms, it
 could be onely, as to the practice of it
 in the *Western* or *Roman Church*: the
Eastern had it before. For though I
 have rejected the pretences from *Ignatius*

tius

tius as well as *Pontianus*, because reported
 onely by single Writers, and those too
 of suspicious credit, yet the testimony
 of *Theodoret*, as to *Flavianus* and *Dio-*
dorus bringing up this practice at *Anti-*
och in *Syria*, swaves with me more, being
 corroborated by several reasons. First,
 that it is sure, the Psalms were sung
 alternately in St. *Ambrose's* and St. *An-*
stin's time, and the practice then said
 to have been an *Eastern* custome. The
 testimony of St. *Ambrose* is most express,
 as to the alternate singing: comparing
 the Church to the sea, he saith, (*Tan-*
quam undis resluentibus stridet, tum re-
sponsoris Psalmorum, &c.) "It sounds
 "with the responsory singing of psalms,
 "as with the noise of many rowing wa-
 ters. Passages out of St. *Anstin*, may
 be produced in great plenty. Some of
 these we have had occasion a'ready to
 alledge, mentioning the sweet melo-
 dies (*Quibus psalterium Davidicum*
frequentabatur) "with which *David's*
 "Psalter was dayly sung; and his as-
 serting it, to have been taken up by St.
Ambrose, as a custome of the *Eastern*
parts. Nor did they then singly sing the
 psalms

Hexac.
l.3.c.5.

Confes.
l.10.c.
33.

l.9.c.7.

psalms in publick Assemblies alternately, but even at home on more private occasions. For speaking of his friends behaviour, and his own, while his mother lay dead in the House (*psalterium arripuit* Euodius, & *cantare cepit psalmum, cui respondebamus omnis domus, &c.*) "Euodius, saith he, took "the psalter, and begun to sing the "psalm, *I will sing of mercy and judgement, &c.* to whom all we who were "in the House answered. And that they sung then (*Latine* being the common language of that Church) a *Latine* Version, though possibly somewhat corrupter than even the present *Vulgar Latine*, is plain from that place, where he complains, the custome of singing, hindred the amendment of the Translation. *Illud etiam, quod jam auferre non possumus de ore cantantium populorum, super ipsum autem floriet* (which our present *Vulgate Bibles* read *efflorebit*) *sanc-*
tificatio mea. Now if we compute the time of these several Fathers flourishing, & together reflect upon the time of *St. Ambrose's* setting up the singing *David's* psalms in the Church of *Millain*, which was

Aug: de
 Doctri:
 Chri-
 stian: 1:
 2: c: 13:
 Pl: 132:
 n't.

was under the persecution raised by *Justin* Mother of *Valentinian*, and particularly in the Consulship of *Antoninus* and *Syagrius*, which fell into the year 382. (that is, two years before the death of *Damasus*, and eighteen before the death of *St. Hierom*; and in *S. Austin's* own knowledge, and almost sight) and consider all these Fathers to have been familiars or correspondents, frequent Letters and Transactions passing betwixt them, it cannot be imagined, *St. Ambrose* should set up a practice in his Church of *Milan*, and pretend to have taken it from the *Eastern* use, when, if *Damasus* had about that time, first introduced it into the Christian Church (by the advice of *St. Hierom*, whose Translation is supposed to be then authorized, & who appeared not publickly, if I mistake not my self, till the year 378.) he must needs have known it was a new thing, just brought up at *Rome*, and no old custome of the *East*. By this evidence it is plain, the pretence of this institution in the Christian Church, having been first from *Damasus*, must needs fall to the ground:
Nay,

C: Sigo.
de Oc-
cid: Im:
l: 8.

Nay, there is reason to conclude, that if *Damasus* did set up alternate psalmody at *Rome*, he took it from St. *Ambrose*, rather than St. *Ambrose* from him. And, which is the second reason of my giving more credit to *Theodoret's* testimony, not onely St. *Ambrose* and St. *Austin* assure us, that this practice came out of the *East*, but St. *Basil* too, a Father of the *Greek Church*, more *Easternly* than they, and somewhat elder: who thus writes; *Ἐκ τῆς ἑβραϊκῆς ἰσθμῆος παρ' ἡμῶν ἡ λαός, &c.* "The people

Basil:

Epist:

63:ad

Cleric:

Neo

Cæsar:

" with us rise by night, and before
 " day come to the House of prayer,
 " where, in humiliation and tears ha-
 " ving made their confession to God,
 " getting up from prayer, they are set
 " to sing the psalms: and now *διζα δια-
 μαίνοντες ἀντιπάλωσιν ἀλλήλους*, being distributed
 " into two parts, they sing in answer
 " one to the other.—And if for this
 " you forsake us, you must forsake
 " the *Aegyptians*, both the *Africans*,
 " the *Thebans*, *Palestines*, *Arabians*,
 " *Ihenicians*, *Syrians*, *Mesopotamians*,
 " &c. so universal was the use. *Pontianus*
 and *Damasus* then being thus laid aside,
 and

and the practice concluded of *Eastern Original*, upon the testimony of those three Fathers, the case onely lies between *Ignatius*, and his two Countrey-men *Flavianus* and *Diodorus*; now the credit of *Theodoret* far preponderating that of *Socrates* in my esteem, and *Socrates* his story besides sounding a little fabulously, I should positively have concluded, that *αἱ ἁγίας Συνεσις*, that *admirable pair* of Holy men, as *Theodoret* calls them, to have been the first authours of singing the Psalter, in order & intirely, within the Christian Church, were there not one Canon of the Council of *Laodicea*, undoubtedly elder than them, which evidently enforces us to admit psalmody (as thereby we understand singing the whole body of *David's* psalms) to have been of elder use in the Church at large. It is the seventeenth Canon of that Council; and if we might take it, as it stands in some *Latin Versions*, it would seem a plain injunction of an orderly course of using the whole Book of psalms. It prescribes (*In processionibus non connectere, id est ex diversis versibus & sensibus libri unum*

Magde.
Cent. 4.
Car-
ranz.

canticum minimè conjungere, sed singulorum psalmorum ordinabiliter debere fieri Lectionem.) “ That they should not in

“ ordinary Assemblies, be any picking
“ and putting together one Hymn out
“ of several passages and verses of the
“ book, but that each of the psalmes
“ should be taken orderly and intirely
“ as they ly. But the import of the
Greek Text is clearly another thing,
though still considerable as to the point
in hand.

Περὶ τῷ μὲν δὲ ἐν ἑκάστην αὐτῶν
ἑκάστην τὴν ψαλμὸν ὡς ἀλλὰ διὰ μίαν καὶ ἑκάστην ψαλμὸν
μὲν γινώσκοντες ἀδύνατον. “ That there should not

“ in a continued course, be sung in the As-
“ semblies a multitude of psalms together,
(or all the psalms of the day, which were
very many, when the whole book, be-
ing divided into seven Nocturns, was
sung over once a Week, or when even
in the Eastern Church, it was sung over
once in twenty dayes) “ but there
“ should be interposed a Lesson betwixt
“ each psalm. This was, saith Zonas-

ras, the Old use; the Old Tradition,
saith Balsamon, that the psalms should
“ be sung διὰ μίαν ἑκάστην, as it were in one
“ continued web, which, saith he, so

“ wear

In Can.
17. cor.
cl. La-
oc.

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“wearied the people, as that they ran
 “out of the Church at them; and that,
 “even after the Holy psalter was divi-
 “ded (*Εἰς ἑξήκοντα διόξαι*) into several
 “Sessions or partitions: Wherefore
 “this Canon ordains, that the Lessons
 “be read betwixt the psalms, that the
 “people having a little rest, may be
 “fresher again for singing. And the
 “Fathers deserve thanks for the insti-
 “tution. Behold then now a settled
 custome (though not particularly the
 same we use) of singing the psalter in
 course, before *Flavianns* and *Diodorus*;
 and that before the year 320, if we
 may believe *Baronius* computing the
 time of this Council: And it would seem
 of some standing, even then. Upon the
 whole, this use is so old, that as was said of
 the Head of *Nilus*, its rise in the Chri-
 stian Church is not to be found: but I do
 verily believe, *Flavianus* and *Diodorus*
 brought up at *Antioch* first the *Responso-*
ry way of singing; there being, that I
 can find, no elder footsteps thereof, or
 pretences thereto, in the Christian
 Church, saving that of *Ignatius*, which
 I have laid aside for the reasons insinua-

ted. Let this then be supposed to have been the rise and progress of this use. The psalter having been used, for time so old as does not appear, to be sung by all sorts of Christian people together (*cantu virorum, mulierum, virginum, parvulorum*, in St. Ambroses language) those Holy men *Flavianus & Diodorus*, first brought up the orderly singing it alternately at *Antioch*, Morning and Evening; which took presently all over *Syria*, and the *East*, and from thence flew to the (*τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς παλαιᾶς*, in *Theodoret's* words) *utmost bounds of the habitable world*. For St. *Basil* set it up in *Cæsarea of Cappadocia*, St. *Ambrose* at *Milan*, *Damasus* at *Rome*, and others elsewhere. Into *England* it came not, till about the year 680, being then brought hither at the command of *Agatho* Bishop of *Rome*, by *John* Arch-chanter of *St. Peter's* in *Rome*, and Abbot of *St. Martin's*: But there are ancient pretences, that it was in *France* much sooner, which that learned Antiquary Sir *H: Spelman* has collected and published, in his first Tome of the *Brittish Councils*: and any one may read

Hexa-
em.ubi
supra.

Bed.
Hist.
4. s. 18.

Concil.
Brit.
10. 175

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read them there if he please, and understand and digest them if he can. Since those ancient dayes, to insist on the approbations, ratifications, and regulations of it, which have ensued under several Bishops, and in later Councils, would not be to much effect. Sure it is, it has ever since stood in the whole Church without interruption, till of very late days; and is no where better regulated, than at present in our Church.

Sec. 5.

This being presumed a sufficient account of the Antiquity of singing the psalter, let us now search into the reasons, which might induce those Holy men, whoever they were, that first instituted it in the Christian Church, to set it up, and the Church to receive it: Now herein we can rather conjecture than determine. It is probable, some such motives as these might be in their eye.

First, the Eternal reason, that a publick sacrifice of praise should be paid unto God morning and evening. By these two periods and vicissitudes of times, it has pleased God to distinguish and measure out all time. *The evening and the morning were the first day: and*

Exod.
XXIX.
38, &c.

so the paying to God a solemn Worship, or office of praise, at the returns of these is a worshipping him *continually*; and that according to his own warranty and institution. *Two lambs of the first year, shalt thou offer day by day continually. The one shalt thou offer in the morning, the other at even: This shall be a continual burnt-offering, throughout your generations: continual, because continued in its seasons. Thus the Christian Church on earth, desired to imitate that in heaven, by praising God in such a proportion of continuity, as she could, and as he appointed.*

Mat. 23.
20.

Besides this, there was undoubtedly regard had to the particular obligatoriness of Christianity. The Christian Law may justly be esteemed to require, that its professors outdo the ancient *Jews* in devotion, as well as sanctity. *Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees (the most accomplished and severest sort amongst the Jews) ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven.* It was not fit therefore, that the Christian Church should be outdone by the *Jews*. These

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These reasons possibly may suffice, for the quantity of the Worship, and its frequent returns: but why should they have pitched on *these psalmes* to be sung rather, than any new Christian Hymns? And why too on this *alternate course*?

As to the former, there may be two reasons assigned. First, it being supposed, that singing the Psalter was not set up in the Christian Church, till after the cessation of the miraculous gifts, there was nothing extant, fit to be sung, so little obnoxious to exception, as the Book of Psalms. Humane compositions might be suspected, and, the Church being rent by Heresies, and one party jealous of another, even in their very Worship, undoubtedly were: but the psalms being confessed by all, who own'd the name of Christian, to have been indited by the Holy Ghost, it might be thought, contention it self would be at a loss, to find a quarrel or plea against them. Secondly, I will not deny, but those dayes might understand the Apostolical commands of *singing Psalms*, and *speaking to one another*

ther in Psalms, literally of the book of Psalms. And though they were here- in none of the exactest *Logicians*, yet may it not be gain-sayed, but they were serious honest Christians: nor is the variation great; *St. Paul* enjoyns Psalms, they in prudence choose these.

And, as to the *alternate* singing them, that locution *speaking to one another*, or betwixt one another, in *psalms and Hymns* appears favourable enough for it to any, who takes the first sense of words, that fairly offers it self: especially when this singing by way of alternation, one part answering another, seems to have been the ancient way of singing in the Former Church. *Exod. XV. 1. Moses & the children of Israel sang this song unto the Lord, I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously, the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.* And ver. 21. *Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand, and all the women after her: and Miriam answered them, sing ye to the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously, &c.* This is yet clearer by that practice of the *Essens* (a Sect of the

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the *Jewes*, which more approached to Christianity, than any other) recorded by *Philo Judæus*, and by him said to have been taken up with respect to this singing of *Moses* and *Miriam*. “When

De vit
con-
templ.

“they all rise, *Two fiant chori in medio cœnaculo, alter virorum, alter fœminarum*, “They divide into two

“Quires, in the middle of the room, “one of men, the other of women.

“Each side has its *præcentor*, or leader of the Song, eminent both for dignity, and for skill in singing. Then

“they sing Hymns in the praise of God, “composed in several sorts of Metre and Verse: some times jointly with one voice, sometime alternately.

“—And when with such sweet exchanges they have holily satisfied themselves, they join all again into one

“Quire, in imitation of the like institution, when the Sea, at Gods command, came together again for the

“destruction of the *Ægyptians* and preservation of the *Israelites*, *Moses* leading the song to the men, & *Miriam* to

“the women. In these old precedents, the Church thought fit to alter some

circumstances for more gravity and decency; yet so, as that she hath had regard to ancient practice, singing some things alternately (especially *David's Psalms*) and others by the whole Quire, all joining.

sect. 6. But touching the nature of the subject matter thus sung, there is one great difficulty still recurs. It will be said, the same Hymn is not proper for a Christians mouth, because pertinent unto a Jew; nay, it is therefore improper: Nor can either the practice of holy men, or the commands of Bishops, or the sanctions of Councils, no, nor even well-meaning zeal and holy emulation, justifie an impertinent form of Worship.

It might be answered hereto, and that soberly enough, that this practice having entred the Catholick Church by such methods, as above said, and having now the prescription of thirteen or fourteen hundred years, and the publick prudence and piety of our own Church, having thought good to continue and re-establish it by particular laws in our reformation, so that it is not in the power

power of particular objectors, to alter this the frame of the settled Worship, no modest and advised person ought, where the Question lyes onely touching the meetness and expediency of a thing, to oppose their private thoughts to the publick judgment and law; but rather submitting their own reasonings, to accomodate their devotion, as far as may be, to the publick form, seeing they cannot model the publick form, to the good pleasure of their own devotion.

But I shall not at present desire any to exercise so much modesty or self-denial, as to submit their reason to the law of the Church, meerly for the authority of the same. I onely request them a while to suspend their reasonings and objections, and to wave the prejudices they have conceived thence, so long as to consider, whether the Book of Psalms, if sung with understanding (as all Christian Hymns must be, otherwise they are impertinent, and unbecoming a Christian soul) may not be pertinent enough to the Evangelical state, and of excellent use in the publick dayly Ser-

vice. Now for the removal of this imputation, or suggestion of the incongruity of the Plains to the constitution of the Gospel, I desire the particulars following may be considered.

First, that the Jewish and Christian Church are both in common, built on the same foundations; such as are the serious *Belief* and *Worship of one*, and him the onely living and true God, and of the same *Messias* or Saviour of the World: onely the *Jewes* of old were to believe in Christ as *Future*, because then he was indeed to come, we Christians believe in him as *come* already, and as having *suffered*, and being now *exalted* to the *right hand of the Majesty on high*, because really he is so. Moreover, as to the *Rule* both of *Faith* and *Manners*, we both receive the same divine Oracles of the Old Testament; onely we Christians add thereto the New, but for the proof thereof, we neither have, nor pretend to have greater outward evidence than the Old: We have also for the main, the same Moral Law; onely Christ hath put a more advanced and refined sense on some things there-
there.

therein. Hitherto then both the old faithful Jew, and present Christian agree; and therefore a service suited to the Foundations of either Religion (as were the Psalms certainly to those of the Jewish) must suit the foundations of both.

Secondly, it is considerable, that even in those points, wherein the Jewish and the Christian Church essentially differ, as were for the main, the outward modes and institutions of their Worship, some temporal promises made to them, as objects of their particular Faith, and whatever else there is of the same nature, even in these points, I say, the Jewish Church was the type and image of the Christian. Their Temple, Altars, Sacrifices and Priests, all, though in different regards, figures of our Lord Jesus our eternal Priest and propitiation, as is discoursed at large in the greatest part of the ten first chapters of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*; the very land of *Canaan*, the rest which was promised to them, and of which they were once generally possessors, a figure of the Evangelical and Heavenly

estate ; Nay, their very Political laws, many of them, figurately or reductively Christian. *Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the Ox that treadeth out the corn*, was said unto the Jew : that is to the Christian, *He that preacheth the Gospel should live of the Gospel*. In fine, it may be said generally of all Gods dealings with them, of the whole series and course of his providences to the whole Jewish state, under all its revolutions and periods, from its very cradle in *Isaac*, to its funeral in the last and fatal flames of *Jerusalem*, what the Apostle saith of some particulars, *They happened to them for examples, and were written for our admonition.* Now the consequence of this consideration is plainly thus much, that forasmuch as in all typical and figurative speeches (with which, as is evident, the Psalms abound) there is a double sense, the literal and the interpretate, therefore (1.) if there at any time occur any passages in the Psalms, relating to the ceremonial Worship of the *Jews*, the shadow being removed, and the substance taken, the literal sense looked through,

1 Cor.
IX. 9,
10.

1 Cor.
X. 11.

through, and used as a perspective glass, and the signification, as the main object attended, this will be found truly Christian, and fit to employ Christian devotion. And the like may be said (2.) Of the Historical parts of the Book of Psalms: perhaps *mutato nomine, de te*, apply the passages to thy self, and haply it concerns thee most intimately. Or if it be of more publick and political nature, the Jewish state and people were the *Type*, the Christian the *Antitype*. Besides, we know God is not onely to be celebrated in the Assemblies of his people, for his late, present and private dealings towards us, or our own Countrey, but *for his mighty works of ancient dayes*, and all his marvellous loving kindness to the children of men. *He is to be glorified in his Saints, and admired in all them that believe*, and in all those that have believed too. And in proportion hereto, was designed *Psalm. CVII.*, especially that Ecstatick *chorus* of it, *O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men; to men of all ages* and

2 Thes.

1. 10

and Nations, as well as of all conditions or degrees. And *Ver. the last, Who so is wise, and will observe these things, even they shall understand the loving kindness of the Lord*, which certainly is no unedifying, or contemptible kind of knowledge. Hereto may be added (3.) That forasmuch as the Prophecies extant in the Book of Psalms, and delivered to the *Jews*, have had their completion under and in the Gospel state, therefore if with the prophesie, we together consider the event (as certainly we ought) if we look on what was foretold, as now fulfilled, we have not onely reason, and most urgent inducements, to admire the faithfulness, veracity and power of God, but convincing instances of his providence, of his infinite preiscience and omniscience, who knoweth and speaketh of all things to come, as if he saw and described them present; for indeed all things are present to him: And further, we have fresh testimonies of God's greater mercy and dignations unto us, than unto those his ancient people. They lived onely to hear those things promised; to

us they have been all performed. Now certainly that which is apt, if sung with understanding and due attention, to wrap the devout soul into admiration of God's omniscience, truth, power, justice, mercy and loving kindness, not onely in general towards mankind, but particularly to the Christian Church, yea, to a mans own self, is not any unfit matter to be sung in Christian Assemblies: but of this nature generally are the Psalms. It is plain then, that neither the *Ceremonial*, nor *Historical*, nor *Prophetick* parts of the book of Psalms, render them improper for the present publick use of Christian people in the praise of God. Nay, we see they are very proper to engage our hearts unto greater fervours of love and gratitude towards God, who fed the Old Church with promises, prophecies and types, but us with real performances and substance.

There remains then now no impertinence, or unsuitableness, imputable to the Psalms thus taken, because they were fitted principally to the Jewish constitution: And whatever exception,

touching their unmeetness, can be made against our present use of them, must be grounded on some other respect: perhaps on their being too peculiarly accommodated to the particular conditions of the holy men their authours; sometimes importing such profound miseries, into which the commonalty of Christians do not fall, or at least with which, few or none of the congregation are, while they sing, either affected or threatned; sometimes again praising God for such mercies, which neither are of a publick nature, nor it may be have been received by one in tenthousand: again, at another time, expressing such vows and transports of devotion, which are not incident to common souls, and perhaps considering them in all circumstances, to few or none now adayes; And Lastly, on the other side, it may be, proceeding directly against the Christian law, by most bitter imprecations and curses against Enemies, whereas we are all bound by our Christianity to love, bless and pray for our most merciless persecutors.

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As to all which I say in general, that though all the particular passages in the Psalms, against which these exceptions are levelled, may not in the strict and literal expressions, in which they ly, be exactly apposite to the particular condition of many private men, nor haply to the common state of the Church, at the critical time of the present use of them, yet a moderate measure of Christian discretion will remove these inconveniencies, and by a mental application, and small variation of the sense (which in all publick Prayers and Hymns, must be allowed to particular mens devotion, otherwise it is scarce possible any form, new or old, should in common suit all mens estates) bring them down either to their own, or others conditions, with good success, and according to the Christian Rule in such cases. And for evidence hereof, I desire the following points may be considered: and that the rather, because I judge they may not onely remove the imputation we insist on, but also serve as directions, in the dayly use of the Psalms, for our singing with

understanding and true devotion.

First then I say, it is a very gross mistake to think, that the faithful, in the publick Assemblies, are to mind onely their own concerns in the prayers and praises, which they offer up unto God. The *Communion of Saints* is part of an Article in our Creed: and wherein can the scattered members of the Church, all the world over, hold communion more strictly and fervently with one another, than in their prayers and praises each for others, and all in general? The Apostle injoines not onely that *prayers, and supplications, and intercessions*, but also, that *Giving of thanks be made for all men*: and our Lord taught us to pray *Our Father*, for the Christian community together with our selves. There is not one *Me*, but all along *Us* in the Lords Prayer. Now that, which suits not with my condition, may suit with the condition of some *I* know, or of thousands of faithful ones in the world, which *I* know not, and perhaps never shall know, till *I* see them in the Kingdom of my Father; and so, if offered up in the behalf
of

1 Tim.

11: 1.

of such unknown Saints, whose conditions those Psalms fit, will neither be impertinent, or unbecoming a Christian, nor without a reward.

Secondly, there is nothing more uncertain, than the condition of men on earth: That which is not my condition today, may be nearer me than *I* am aware, both as to Spirituall and Temporall. *St. Peter* was zealously resolved over-night, rather to dy with his Master, than deny him; and yet before the day broke, he had denied him thrice, and curst, and swore upon it. Holy *Job* was one day a great Prince, swimming in plenty, blessed with children, a man of great reputation and interest; but within a few dayes, a miserable despicable *Lazar* upon a dunghill, neglected, forsaken, or deprived of all, and as it would have seemed, of God too. Again on the other side, that which is not my condition now, possibly has been. Now in regard of this variableness, and the vicissitudes of humane things, it is a mistake to think, that we are to offer no prayers or praises even in our own be-

half, but such as strictly concern our present estate. Our Lord taught us to pray, not onely *not to be led into temptation*, but to be *delivered from evil*; to wit, from the evil of the temptation, from being overcome by it, when led into it. It is certainly prudence, and a kind of Christian good Husbandry, to put up prayers before-hand, which may operate in the changes of our condition: and accordingly our Church most wholesomly provides we should, not onely in the Psalmes but Litanies, *In the hour of death, and in the day of judgment, Good Lord deliver us*. Then as to matter of praise: Does any man think he is to bless God onely, for the mercies he is in that instant tasting, or did but just now receive? Far be such ill memories from Christian gratitude! Our Royal prophet's Harp forgot not the woods and the cave, when it was tuned in a Palace and chair of State. The Petitions therefore and Thanksgivings, which suit not in strictness with my present state, may be pertinent and proper enough for my use, if applied unto
what

what possibly may be, or I remember has been my condition: And surely, there is no man of a more unhappy memory in the world, than he who forgets what he has been.

Thirdly ; it is to be considered, that as there cannot well befall us any such complicate distress in this life, but still we may perceive some blessings left, and therefore some cause to praise God, at least that it is not worse with us yet, so neither can we well imagine, such a complete union of all felicities on this side Heaven, which supposes not some Christian want; and so there will be still occasion for prayer, if to no other purpose, yet to this, that we may have grace not to abuse such heights of happiness: So that upon the whole, Prayer and Praise (of which two, the far greatest part of the Psalms is made up) let them concern what they well can, will never be unseasonable and improper in our own, or in the Churches behalf; one or both, in one time or other, they must needs meet with.

Fourthly, We are to remember,
that

that many of the Psalms were designed onely, or chiefly, as *prophetical songs*, touching our Lord *Christ*, and so concern him immediately, either in his *Humbled* or *Exalted* estate. Such are Psalms *II*, *XVI*, *XXII*, *XLV*, *CX*, and very many more: now these, though they are neither all along pertinent to our own, nor the Churches present or future estate, are notwithstanding very far from being improper Hymns in Christian Assemblies. if our dear Lords sufferings, if his reproaches, scorns and smart, if his wounds and bloud, if his agonies, death and burial, may be forgotten in our dayly singing to him, then let us sing, let us live no longer. But if each particular of them, deserve at our hand ten thousand grateful recollections, praises and commemorations, and as many rivers of grateful tears, then let us not fear to sing to him, what he stuck not to undergo for us, the very *afflictions* and *oppressions* of his *soul*, when it was *made an offering for sin*. And if we are not to forget his *sorrows*, why should we not also, though unworthy, sing his *Glories*?

Our

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Our praises certainly ought to follow him, from his Cross to his Throne. The Royal Psalmist leads the Ditty, and sings him sometimes even fainting under the malice of his Enemies, and in the very *dust of death*; and anon *sat at God's right hand, till his enemies are made his foot-stool*. Now these holy strains, though exceeding what is incident to mortals state, are not yet impertinent in the Christian Worship; nay, they perfectly symbolize with the primitive practice, they are (*Carmen Christo*) immediate Hymns to Christ.

Psal.
XXII.

Pf. CX.

By these four considerations it is evident, that none of those Psalmes, or passages of psalms, which relate either to excessive and frequent miseries or mercies, if duly applied, can be improper for Christian use in the Worship of God. To proceed then to another sort of Excesses.

Fifthly, as to those complaints, vows, petitions, professions of love and zeal, and all other devotional parts, which import greater affection, fervour and transports, than what is commonly incident to most men in this

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the waining age of Christianity, that these are somewhat improper for us, is our own fault, and so great an one, as certainly needs redress. However, they may be pertinent to others: and tis not fit they should be struck out of the Publick Service, to lower it to some, or many mens dulness. Publick standing devotions, must be suited to all degrees of Christians, that mens graces, of whatsoever height, may have opportunities for their noblest elevations. An humble soul can rejoyce, that *David* and others have been thus affected, or have thus vowed, loved and professed, and will reproach it self for its own slackness and groveling state: withall, most easily turning such passages into prayers, that the like holy flames may be enkindled in its self, that it may not ever live a stranger to such raptures of good affection and devotion, and studying that against the next return of these Psalms in course, its heart may be in tune for them, at least, able to take them in some tolerable pitch. It cannot therefore justly be pleaded, that these parts of the

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Book of Psalms, are improper for the present constitution of Christianity.

Lastly, as to what remains, that many passages, and sometimes whole Psalms, are *unsuitable* to the *Christian spirit*, and not framed according to the Evangelical law, because containing imprecations, and very dismal curses against Enemies, there is a double answer given by that great *Exemplar* of Learning and Godliness, Dr. *Hammond*. Præf. to Annot. on the Psalms.

(1.) If those Psalms, or parcels of them, were rendred strictly according to the *Hebrew* Text, they would not appear so much imprecations, as denunciations of misery and destruction to such incorrigible enemies of God, his Church and people, whom nothing will stop in their malice but their own fall. And in favour of this interpretation, it is to be considered, that *David* was a prophet, and therefore a capacitated and proper person to foretell or denounce such mens ruin, both for their own reformation, and for the support of the languishing Church. Further, it is most certain, that some of the Psalms, which are most

See 4^e Review.

obnoxious to this charge, were really prophecies, and are so applied by the Holy Ghost in the New Testament: Two or three of them particularly to Judas, as predictions of his character, fall and punishment. St. Peter, *Acts* I, 16, 17. alluding to that passage in *Psalms* XLI, 9. *My familiar, who did eat of my bread, hath lift up his heel against me,* applies it to Judas. So as to *Psal.* LXIX, 25, &c. where we read, *Let their habitation be desolate, and let none dwell in their tents;* And proceeding in the same strain, ver. 28. *Let them be blotted out of the book of the living, and not be written with the righteous:* All this by *Acts* I, 20. is plainly to be interpreted of Judas, and men of his stamp. In like manner also *Pf.* CIX, 8. *Let his dayes be few, and let another take his Office,* in the same place is referred to the same person. And if we read all these by the *Future tense*, as they stand in the Original, thus, *Their habitation shall be desolate, and none shall dwell in their tents. They shall be blotted out of the book of the living, &c. And His dayes shall be few, & his office shall another take,* and

(and not imperatively, as Translatours commonly render them) the case is clear. If then thus we take them, these passages are no wise imprecatory, but propheticall.

(2.) We are to remember, what has been before said, that the Church and people of the *Jewes* were the image of the Christian: These things are a *Figure*. As the *Jewes* had enemies, with whom they were to make no league, nor so much as truce, but utterly to destroy them, so have we; to wit, our spiritual ones. Turn then all these Psalms against the enemies of thy soul, thine own lusts, the World and the Devil: Pray that thine heart, which they have too long usurped as their *habitation*, may be for ever hereafter *desolate* of them, and that none of the same kind may ever enter that *Tent*. Thus taken, there can be no doubt of the propriety of these Psalms.

For further evidence, that even these kind of Psalms may be sung to edification, and Christian advantage, I shall produce the judgment, which a worthy and pious Divine (though no great friend to the Church of *England*) gives in the case, which haply with some men,

De con.
fcienc.
lib. 4.
c. 19.
p. 4.

will goe farther, than many arguments of mine. Dr. Ames then expressly puts the case, *How can we rightly sing those Psalms, which contain curses and imprecations?* To which he answers three wayes, each worthy of due consideration, and as yet untouched by me. “(1,) We may by occasion of those curses, with fear and trembling meditate of the dreadful judgments of God, against the sins of impenitent men. (2.) We may thence be built up in patience and comfort; against such temptations as are wont to arise from consideration of the prosperity of ungodly men, and the afflicted estate of Saints. (3.) We may also together pray God, that he would hasten his just judgments (not against our own private enemies) but against the ungodly and incurable enemies of his Church. Let these three Answers be put to the other two, and Christian practice be regulated accordingly, and we can never sing any imprecatory Psalms, but with happy advantage, and consistency with our Saviours precept, or the Evangelical spirit. But

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But will some say, how are divine *threats*, or even *promises* themselves, with which the Book of Psalms is full, *matter* of divine *praise*, or fit to employ a Christian Assembly engaged in *singing* to God?

I answer (has God given precedents of this nature, indited by his own Holy Spirit) and by his providence ordered his people should be inured to the practice of them, nay, and approved this practice, by declaring his acceptance of it in Holy Writ, and shall man interpose, question, or controule what is so plainly authorised by the divine pleasure? The Song of *Moses* has frequent both promises and threats in it: & as to the main body of it, is rather partly reprehensory, partly didactical, than any wise Eucharistical. The same must be acknowledged too, touching a considerable part of the Book of Psalms. The very titles להודיר משכיר & such like, import, that this was not casual, or beset through any mistake or indiscretion of their Authors: they were formally & fundamentally designed to such purpose. And all this comports well with the Apostolical pre-

precept, *Teaching and exhorting one another in Psalms, &c.* In a word, we must not be self-will'd, conceited, singular and humourfome in our devotions: To *frame our minds* and affections to those *divine forms*, which God hath set us, is certainly an *holy conformity*. Is not God terrible in praises? Is he not glorified, when men fear before him, when repeating and believing the denunciations of his wrath against sin, they tremble at his judgments, and being afraid at his displeasure, flee the cause of it (that is sin) as a deadly serpent? Now what more proper to beget this temper (to imprint such a fear of God upon the heart, that it may not depart from him) than the use and consideration of divine threats? Again, can we give unto God greater glory, than that of Faith and Hope? *Abraham*, saith the Apostle, *being strong in faith, gave glory to God, not staggering at his promise.* And what more proper to draw forth such Faith, than that the divine promises should dwell in our joyful lips, and be sung before God in his *dayly praises*. Besides, while we
sing

Rom.
IV. 20.

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sing them thus with Faith, we plead them to God, and (as in the Titles of some Psalms, *לְהוֹדוֹת* as if designed, *To bring to remembrance* even God's Word to himself) we become in a sort *God's remembrancers*, both in our own, and his Churches behalf. Can we well imagine a more profitable, a more comfortable service?

I have thus reckoned up all the improprieties or impertinences, I could find, or devise, against the present use of singing *David's Psalms* in our Christian Assemblies. I have answered the imputations in their full force, and I trust I have shewn how such passages, or such Psalms, which are censured, or obnoxious to be censured, as most improper, may be of very heavenly use, if sung with understanding, attention, faith, and due application. I hope then I may now leave the present use of these Psalms, in the possession of its authority, the sum of which is this: They were indited by the Holy Ghost for the use of the Jewish Church, which in its foundations was the same with the Christian, and in its

very peculiarities a figure of it: The law of Nature requires, that the singing praise unto God, should be one part of his publick solemn Worship; and the Christian law requires, that those, who undertake its profession, should exceed rather, than fall below the Jewish standard of devotion: *Speaking to one another in Psalms, and Hymns, and spiritual Songs*, indefinitely is prescribed by the Apostle: *Speaking or singing alternately*, as it was an old usage, so seems there insinuated; and besides, it has been found serviceable mutually to quicken and excite the reciprocate affection of the parties singing. Upon these inducements, Holy men, neer the eldest ages of Christianity, thought good to introduce the singing these Psalms (as being undoubtedly of *divine inspiration*) and particularly this way of singing them: Ancient Bishops & Governors of the Church approved, set up and enjoined the practice within their own Churches: Synods and Councils more generally establisht it by their Canons: It has now the prescription of thirteen or fourteen hundred

dred years in the Catholick Church : It is reinforced by the Laws of our own Church , and there is abundant reason for the continuance of it , from its particular conduciveness (as we have seen) to all kinds , parts and degrees of Devotion. Now those , whom this account satisfies not , I fear will scarce be able to give so good an one , for any form of Worship , not set down in express terms in the New Testament, and together there, by the same letter, commanded.

After this large and particular discussion of the reasonableness of singing *David's Psalms*, I shall not judge it necessary to speak any thing touching our singing other Scripture-Hymns ; the same plea much more sufficing for these, which is now presumed to have carried the cause for them , and they being of much more easie accommodation to our Christian concerns. That then which next offers it self to consideration in our Cathedral practice , is our *Anthems*. And here truly I must acknowledge, I apprehend it easier to give a satisfactory account of the *Thing* , than of the

Set. 7.

Name. Greek it must certainly be, as to its first Origin: But by what Analogy of Language, Ἀνθῆμα (a word nowhere, that I know, used, yet naturally enough importing as much as, ἀντιθέμενός ἐστι) should be made ἄνθημα, or how ἄνθημα from ἀνθός, or even Ἀνθῆμα should come to signify a Christian Hymn, with any tolerable violence, I am equally to seek. Nor will the Ἀνθῆμα in *Athenæus* (τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἱερέταις ἔρχονται τῆς, though it be μετὰ λήξεως) in my judgment at all found an Etymology in the case: So that I confess fairly, I find no such Greek word of this, or a cognate signification, in any Authour, sacred or profane. Which makes me rather conceive, those modern Languages, whence immediately we have taken the name, have occasioned our corrupting it, from *Antiphon* (which the French have made *Antienne*) or from *Anthymn*, which is neerer in sound to the Italian *Anthema*, and our *Anthem*: now admitting either of these, but especially the later, we have a name, in my opinion, suitable to the nature of the thing, and which leads us to the

Lib: 14.
cap: 7.

the genuine notion of it. For I take an *Anthem*, to be nothing else, but an *Hymn sung in parts*. It differs from what we call *Responsories* (said to be found out by the *Italians* very anciently) in that therein, according to the old use, *Unus Versum dicit*, one singing the Verse (with us, in Plainest song) the Quire answers their part, either in the same way, or in more artificial Symphony; and that these are short, constant or continuing still the same: whereas the Anthem is much larger, of various and more solemn form, and has usually greater curiosity and diversity of parts. The parts indeed are fewer or more, according to the pleasure of the Composer: and sometimes single Voices, sometimes lesser *Chorus's*, sing interchangeably and are answered by the *Chorus omnium*, or full Quire. Even the subject matter, and the Form too is very different amongst us, not onely in diverse Churches, but even in the same Church; it seeming good to the prudence of those, who have power in this case, to frame, or direct the framing

Isidor:
Orig. l.
5.c.19:
Rab:
Maur:
Inst:
Cleric:
l: 2:
c: 51.

new Anthems, either suitable to some new emergent occasions, or for making the Service of God more grateful and inviting to humane weakness, which is apt ever & anon to be affecting something new. Now though the curiosity of the Musick in this case be (as we have said) a practice not of very many Ages, yet whatever else, as far as I see at present, there is herein, is of very ancient useage. We have seen St. *Ambrose's* practice and institution above: He certainly both composed new Hymns of his own, and set up the singing of them in parts, as far as the state (and possibly the skill) of his people would admit: And whence he took his pattern, has also been spoken. The *Antiphons* of the old Church, said to be first found out by the *Grecians* (though haply the greatest reason, which the *Ritualists* have to say for, is because the name is *Greek*, whereas the thing was an *Hebrew* use) were certainly but old-fashioned Anthems. And those Ninety six Hymns, before-mentioned, in *Breviaries*, &c. are nothing but Anthems, especially when

when sung in the Anthem way. I know indeed, the present *Antiphons* in the *Romish Church*, are clear another thing. *Usu receptum est, ut sententia que Psalmum aut Canticum precedit, Antiphona dicatur.* And as to their way of singing them. *Inchoantur ab uno unius Chori, & ad ejus Symphoniam cantatur Psalmus per duos Choros, ipsa que Antiphona conjungantur simul duo Chori.* But that Church must be acknowledged to have a singular art of introducing *new practices* at pleasure, and gloriously gilding them with *old and venerable Names*. Waving therefore this innovated kind of *Antiphons*, I say, it has certainly been, from the very *Primitive times*, customary, and may now justly be accounted prescriptive, for the *Fathers of the Church*, *Godly Bishops*, to frame, or order the framing, *Holy Hymns* for publick use in the *Service of God*, as in their pious discretion and grave counsel, they shall judge fit: and these *Hymns*, if sung in parts, *reciprocis & alternantibus modulis*, as now of long time the use has been in the *Christian Church*,

Duran:
de rit:
l. 3. c.
17
Gavan.
in rubt.
Brev.
Sect. 5.
c. 7.

are

are most naturally what is meant by the old appellation *Antiphons*; they are truly *Anthems* (which though it be a newer name, more fitly expresses the thing spoken of) And this I take to be both the Original, and true nature, of our Anthems.

Having therefore so great Patronage for this practice, as to the general, in Antiquity, let us now consider what there is peculiar in our Churches use. As to the Musick of our Anthems, I have said enough already: as to their matter and form, these are the points, as yet very much untouched. And here I could wish, I could have found a Law for my guide, or could have taken some light from any publick constitution, ever of force in this behalf: But whatsoever we have of a Sanction relating to this matter, supposes Anthems as in use, and onely directs in what part of the Daily Office they shall succeed [Inquires, and in places where they sing, here followeth the Anthem] neither prescribing, nor so much as directing, of what materials and frame they shall consist. We
must

Ru-
brick
after
the
third
Col-
lect,
Morn.
and
Even.

must therefore have recourse to common practice, and that at present, generally, is this: The Masters of our Church-musick choose some short Psalm or Psalms, sometimes also portions out of any other Canonical Book of Scripture (according as best suits their Musical fancy) which they set to as curious Melodies, as they can; and this, thus composed, when they have tryed, and got practised and performed by the Quire in private, they cause to be sung in the publick Service, in the place by Law prescribed for the Anthem, and then tis a new Anthem. What I judge in the several particulars fit to be regulated or controlled in this practice, I shall speak in the next Chapter; here onely more generally my design leads me to consider, what matter and form is most proper for Anthems. And here I humbly beseech all, who shall please to give themselves the pains to read this; and chiefly, with all dutiffulness, my Superiours, that they will not interpret what I write beyond my intention, or as exceeding the quality of my station, and

as if I took upon me to advise, prescribe or dictate to those, from whom I ought to take Rules. I should with all submission entertain such Rules, were they given: but I neither know that the Church, or any the Governours thereof, have determined or directed any thing in this case, and I am (as well as many others) too sensible, that there are great indecencies daily committed, and matters very unmeet introduced into the publick Lauds of the Church, by reason that our Church-composers generally want that deep judgment in *things sacred*, which they have in *sounds*. Now the due designing and contriving the divine praise, being a duty of such moment, and this present point therein being, as far as I know, untouched by any, I trust I shall not deserve censure, if with all submission I propose my thoughts herein, which possibly I may conceive my self several ways regularly enough obliged and authorised to do.

To the point then: I have said, I take an Anthem to be, in its true nature, an Hymn: now it being of the
essence

essence of an Hymn, that it contain the praises of God, we may soon conclude of what subject-matter our Anthems strictly are to consist. Whatever most plainly, directly, and becomingly imports the praises of God, is most proper for an Anthem, and nothing else: now such passages of speech alone, immediately import the praise of God, in which we either design to *speake worshipfully* of him, or *confess and vow unto* him; and most properly the former sort. Touching God, we can say nothing that we ought, but it must either concern his Nature, or his Works; what he is, or what he has done: and all, which he has done, relating either to his Making, Conserving, or Governing the World, we are brought to this issue, that whatever words are primarily fit for an Anthem, must either celebrate the infinite Majesty, Goodness, and Perfection of God, or else give him the glory of his Works of Creation and Providence. And this later Head of Providence must not be strained too far, or to such remote matters, wherein we are generally un-

concerned: for by such means, the act of Worship, by us thus paid, will be less proper, or our own; for that both our hearts are apt to be less affected with those things, which are far from concerning us, and besides, for those things, which do more neerly concern us, we more strictly owe express lauds, thanks and gratitude. Now of passages of this nature, we may in Scripture observe three sorts. (1.) Some directed immediately to God, by way of an actual address to his Majesty: such are those in the Psalms, *O Lord our God, How excellent is thy Name in all the earth! Thou hast set up thy glory above the Heaven.* And, *O Lord, thou art very great, thou art clothed with honour and majesty; with a thousand more: in the New Testament, Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour, and power: for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are, and were created, and the like.* In others (2.) the speech is turned to our selves; and that either singly, by way of Soliloquy stirring up our selves to the praise of God; as,
Awake

Psal.
VIII.

Rev.
IV. 11.

Chap. III. Duty of Singing. 389

Awake up my glory, awake Lute and Harp, &c. Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless his Holy Name, &c. Or, as supposed, uttered amongst a community, either Cate-
gorically and plainly, as, Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised, & his greatness is unsearchable: or Hortatorily & Opta-
tively, as, O come let us sing unto the Lord, let us heartily rejoice, &c. And, Bless-
ing, and glory, and power, and might be unto our God for ever and ever, Amen.
 A third sort have the speech directed to other men, or other things, calling upon, and as it were conjuring, all spoken to, to join mightily in the divine praise. Thus *Psal. CV. O give thanks unto the Lord, call upon his Name, make known his deeds amongst the people. Sing unto him, sing Psalms unto him, talk ye of all his wondrous works:* Like forms occur, in a manner, all over the Book of Psalms, especially in the four or five last. Now all such words as these, are primarily fit for Anthems.

But will some say, Are no Anthems of more doleful and lamentable contents to be allowed? Is not grief, con-

Psal. CXLV.

3.

Rev. VII.

12.

trition, and sorrow for sin, to be stirred up thereby? I answer, though I do not conceive penitential Psalms to come under the name of Hymns, nor to be therefore very proper for Anthems (plain and simple modulation, and which favours more of compunction & remorse, than curiosity of Musical Art, rather becoming them) yet such passages as are reducible to *Confessions* and *Vows* (the second member of the first propounded division) as they must be acknowledged meet enough for Anthems, so they are very pertinent & proper to such purposes. Care onely here must be had, that such words be pitched on, which are most intimately proportionate to the Christian state, and which express such confessions and vows which Christian men may be supposed both sincerely to make, and through grace able to keep. And to this purpose it may be expedient, to pick here and there such portions, as are most suitable to the present circumstances, and not to take either one whole continued Psalm, or (without regard to the sense) such parcels onely as seem more apt to fall into Musical graces.

Now

Now for my confining the subject-matter of Anthems, within so narrow bounds (and especially, and most commonly, within the compass of the first member of the Division) I have several reasons to produce, which whoso considers, haply will be of my mind.

First, This is most conformable to the Original pattern, whence Anthems either really were, or are pretended to have been taken; and that is, the Angels singing, as in parts, to God. in *Isaiab's* Vision (whatever fabulous there is in that of *Ignatius's*) it is certain the *Seraphims* cried one to another, *Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory.* And all generally who write touching the Origin of *Antiphons*, which were (proportionably) the same in the Old Church, as Anthems are with us, affirm this to be the precedent, whence they derive. Now in all the Angelical Hymnes, or those of the blessed Saints in glory, extant in Scripture, the contents are constantly Laudatory; not excepting that (*Luke II. 14.*) which seems to connote something of a charitable intent towards

wards Mankind. Secondly, the most natural design of Anthems, which may be presumed, is to pay to God a more solemn, heavenly, and exalted act of Worship: and then, why should we not immediately sing *Of him*, or *To him*? Why should we go round about, and employ our souls onely upon divine subjects at large, not coming at God in our thoughts, but onely indirectly, & by the interposition & consecution of many other considerations? Thirdly, The subjects specified, must be acknowledged to be most naturally proper for all Psalms, & therefore most especially for those more choice ones, which we call Anthems. *Is any merry*, saith the

Jam. V. Apostle, *Let him sing Psalms*. The most natural end of Psalms or singing, as to any effect on *our selves*, is *Holy joy and gratitude*: And then as to any other ends which either regard *other men*, or even *God himself*, whether we look on singing as destin'd to excite in others the *like thankfulness*, which we by singing express in our selves, or to pay to God a more *cheerful* and *solemn* tribute of *Praise*, what is there, which

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which more naturally comports with all these designs, than the consideration of God, his nature, excellence, benefits, and all his works? Especially, where such consideration is, as occasion serves, intermixed with holy confessions and vows, as above supposed. It is true indeed, a multitude of *David's* Psalms are of other argument; and we have proved even those fit to be sung: but that not so much in their own nature, as by reason of humane infirmity, and for our own advantage, more than Gods glory. Thus the Psalmist indited Prayers to be sung, but that onely to quicken our dulness, and make us more attentive, affectionate and fervent therein; and so too Doctrines of Faith and manners, as also threats, and promises (as the *Druids* did their Chronicles, and some old Nations, they say even their Pedigrees) to the intent the sweetness of singing drawing men to frequent repetition of them, they might more fully be learnt and digested, more faithfully retained in memory, more deeply imprinted in the heart, and have due effect: And ac-

cordingly in compliance with the Holy Ghosts design, we do daily sing such matters, in the course of singing *David's Psalms*. But when we shall be advanced above this state of imperfection, though even then we shall sing still, yet shall we no more sing *prayers*, for we shall want n thing which we may ask; nor *Doctrinals*, for we shall be no longer to learn; nor *Promises*, for we shall be possess'd of all promised; much less *threats*, for we shall be past the need, as well as misery of terrours: but we shall sing Gods *Excellencies* and *Works*; we shall *acknowledge* our own vileness in order to advance his glory, as the Elders are represented *casting their crowns before the throne*; and if we may not be conceived *vowing*, we shall (which is in effect the same) be incessantly exercising an habitual resolvedness, to persevere in praising and loving God to Eternity. These therefore must be esteemed the meetest subjects for us to sing to God, because, by divine appointment, they are at present far the greatest part of what we sing, and hereafter will be solely, as far as

Rev.
IV.

Chap.III. Duty of Singing 395

as we know, the total summe. To these reasons, though others might be added with great facility, yet I shall judge enough said to justify the resolution above given.

It remains, that it be now considered what Form is meetest for Anthems, abstracting from the subject-matter, namely, whether Prose or Verse. As to matter of present practice, it is sure our Anthems are mostly Prose: and the reason hereof, I conceive to be the cautioners of our Church-composers, who, lest the words of their Anthem should be excepted against, generally choose express passages of Scripture. In the mean time it cannot be denied, but that the Old Anthems, that is, the Hymns composed by the Old Fathers for publick use in the worship of God, and sung in way of Antiphons, were mostly verse of strict measures, as hath been sufficiently made out. In imitation of which pattern, I humbly conceive, that in our Christian Hymns or Anthems, we are not, and ought not to be bound up to the express words of Scripture, and especially not of the

Old Testament. A great part of Scripture in general, but especially all Scripture-poetry (as is the Book of Psalms, whence our Anthems are most commonly taken) is full of allusions and references to the *Jewish* Oeconomy, which though it be, as we have said, very useful when duly applied, yet to have the praises of God always conceived and sung in expressions, which concern Christianity onely at some distance, is not so meet: Besides, that there are many things writ in a kind of closer and more naked way, wanting in a Translation those ornaments which originally they had: so that to relax the style by a prudent paraphrase, would make all fitter for popular capacities, and more apt to move affections: especially, if put into Poetical form, which is generally fitter for Musick, than Prose, and falls into it with more ravishing sweetness, where the Composer understands the graces both of Musick and Poetry, and brings both happily to meet, and set off one the other. I will humbly give an instance: It is commonly sung in an Anthem, *Praise him with*
the

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the sound of the Trumpet (and then our Musicians dally with that word *Trumpet*, repeating it, for meer sake of the Notes, till it become nauseous)
Praise him with the Psaltery and Harp.
 Suppose, in stead hereof, we were to sing, composed Musically, according to the grace of the Verse, and with such melodious interchanges of Parts and Voices, as the words naturally suggest, thus in a Paraphrase;

| | |
|---|-------|
| <i>Together strive, who shall exalt him</i> | Mr. |
| <i>most,</i> | Sam |
| <i>What instruments the fittest are,</i> | Wood- |
| <i>Whether of Love, whether of war,</i> | ford. |
| <i>Sbrill Trumpets, or soft Harps to praise</i> | Pfal. |
| <i>the Lord of Host !</i> | 150. |

Trumpets, and Harps, shall in one consort move,
The Cornet and the amorous Lute,
The Cymbal & the warlike Flute;
For he, who is the Lord of Host, is God of Love.

Whose devotion must not needs soar higher, when carried on such lofty wings

wings, of Poetry and Melody, both so divine? Nor is there wanting a precedent in this case, given by our very own Church. The *Veni Creator*, or Hymn appointed to be sung, by way of Antiphon, in the Office of *Ordination of Priests*, and *Consecration of Bishops*, is strict Verse. And though those Texts of the New Testament appointed to be used on Easter day, in stead of the *Invitatory*, be expressly called an Anthem, or Anthems, yet we may conceive the reason of the diversity, why one is Verse, the other Prose, to be this; the later being translated originally out of Prose, the Church thought good to retain the same Form (besides, that being substituted in the place of the *Invitatory*, it was to consist of such passages, for which Prose possibly might be conceived fitter) whereas the other being translated out of Verse, it was thought meet to put it in a Poetical Form. Though therefore we have thus from the Church a precedent in each way (and consequently, both are by her adjudged meet) yet it seems to be the mind of the Church, that what Originally was Verse,

Ru-
brick
for
Morn:
Prayer.
Rubr:
on Ea-
ster
day.

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Verse, should (at least, at discretion might) in our Anthems be Verse still. But of Poetry, in offices of Divine praise, more anon.

In the mean time, there is one practice in our Cathedral or Choral use, of which justly some account may here be expected, namely, of what we call *Voluntaries*. Hereby we mean some Arbitrary (and commonly Extemporaneous) Lesson, or flourish upon the Organ alone, beginning for the most part in grave, plain Notes, and then proceeding in counterpoint, and afterwards in discant through the several parts interchangeably, as the fancy of the Organist suggests, till having maintained what points he pleases, as long as he thinks fit, he comes to some graceful close. The use hereof, is either immediately before the Service begins, and while the chief of the Congregation are entring and taking their places, or betwixt the Psalms and the first Lesson: or Lastly, in some places betwixt the first and second Service, while those, who officiate at the Communion-service, are going up to the Altar. Now hereof I ingenuously confess,

felf, I can find little or nothing in any
 ancient or considerable Authours: and I
 conceive the practice to be a new Or-
 nament, designed to make the Service
 of God more solemn, the minds of
 people more serious, and to take off
 or drown that little ungrateful hush or
 rustling murmur, which the stirring
 of so many people at such times, and
 in an Assembly must occasion. I really
 believe, the first ground hereof was
 taken from that practice of the Pro-
 phets, and inspired persons under the
 Old Testament, of whom we read,
 that at sundry times, when they de-
 sign'd to stir up the spirit of Prophe-
 sie within them, they called for Musi-
 cians, and made them *play before them*.
 Thus the company of Prophets came
 down from the High place with a *Psal-*
tery, and a Tabret, and a Pipe, and an
Harp before them, and they prophesied.
 Their minds being hereby quickened,
 and their intention raised towards God,
 the inspired principle in them began to
 move (as we have said) in the Divine
 praise. It is remarkable, that instru-
 mental Musick alone is there made use
 of,

1 Sam.

X. 5.

of, as a means to awaken their inspired souls. But that passage of *Elisha* is yet more clear: Being consulted by *Jehoram* a wicked King (who in time of peace sought onely to the Prophets of *Baal*, and never, till necessity drove him, to the prophet of the Lord) touching provision of water for the parched and perishing Host, he was much disturbed, and answers to him, *What have I to do with thee? Get thee to the prophets of thy Father and Mother.* Upon his second importunity, and good *Jehoshaphat's* jointly, he becomes more compliant, though his reply still speaks the commotion of his mind. *As the Lord of Hosts liveth, saith he, before whom I stand, surely, were it not that I regard the presence of Jehoshaphat the King of Judah, I would not look toward thee.* However, as yet he was not in a condition to help either: for, say the Hebrew Doctors, the שכינה, the immediate presence of God, and divine inspiration, enter not into a mind disturbed with passion; and therefore the Prophet added at the next word, ver. 15. *But now bring me hither a Minstrel, And it came to pass,*
E e e when

when the Minstrel played, that the hand of the Lord (the spirit of Prophecie) came upon him, and he said, Thus saith the Lord, &c. On which passage, it is not amiss to take with us the Gloss of a great Scholar in this kind of Learning. *Afferre mihi Psalten, qui scilicet instrumenti melodiam auferat perturbationem animi, & tumultuarias in me sedet cogitationes, quæ Prophetia non admittunt spiritum.* "Bring me (saith he) a Musician, who by the sweetness of his instrument, may remove this perturbation of mind, and appease these tumultuous thoughts of mine, which suffer not the spirit of Prophecie to move in me. And this being done, *Psalm. 150. Laudate Dominum in organo, &c.* as Josephus expresses it, being inspired at the voice of the Musick, he directs a miraculous course for their relief. It appears then, that the use of instrumental Musick, singly and without Voices or Psalms joined thereto, for the raising the soul towards God, for the quieting tumultuous passions, and begetting a sedate, serious temper, fit to receive divine impressions, has very antient pre-

Mun-
fic. in
Loc,

precedents in Holy Scripture. And though I am not able to give an account how and when it came in to our Church, yet finding it there, and used so early, either immediately before the Congregation engage in acts of Worship, to compose them, and to strike a reverence and awe upon their spirits, as to what they are going about, or else in some little interstices and intermissions of Worship, for taking off disturbances, and keeping restless minds in a grave, serious and reverential temper, I see not that it is at all blame-worthy, but rather useful, commendable, and fit to be retained; for, that it has these effects, I am well assured there are thousands of serious people can testify, and to exact a particular command or precept in Scripture for a practice of this nature, is as unreasonable, as to require a Text for having convenient Churches, or decent places to assemble in, for having seats in Churches, or cushions to kneel or lean upon, or for any such useful accommodation and honest advantage of divine Worship. I therefore for the present dismiss this point,

404 Of the Gift and Chap. III.
and together the whole Cathedral use
of singing, as having other place, ac-
cording to the method I have propoun-
ded, both to answer objections, and
to give such further caution as I judge
needful.

Sett. 9. The *Parochial* use, of Singing though
much more obnoxious than the Cathe-
dral, has yet more escaped blames and is
much better approved (indeed strange-
ly doted on) by those of our Nation,
who dissent from our Church : for no
other reason more, that I can imagine,
but that the one is of the Churches con-
stitution, the other is purely the peo-
ples creature, and of their own volun-
tary taking up. In our *Parochial*
Assemblies nothing commonly is sung,
but some parts of the Book of Psalms, as
they stand butchered into *English Metre*. I
do not condemn *Verse* in this case, which
I have both before preferred to prose,
in point of singing to God, and am rea-
dy further to commend but such *Verse*
as this, generally,

Non dii, non homines, non concessere
columnae,

the

the very stones in the walls, if sensible, would cry out against. The device of putting the Psalms into *Metre*, the learned and industrious *Dr. Heylin* tells us, was "first taken up in *France*, by one "*Clement Marott*, one of the Grooms "of the Bed-chamber to King *Francis* Histor. "the first; who being much addicted of Re- "to Poetry, and having some acquaint form "tance with those, who were thought Pag. "to have enclined to the Reformation, 131. "was perswaded by the learned *Vata-* "blaw, Professour of the *Hebrew* Tongue "in the University of *Paris*, to express "his Poetical fancy in translating some "of *David's* Psalms. For whose satis- "faction and his own, he translated "the first fifty of them: and after, fly- "ing to *Geneva*, grew acquainted with "Beza, who in some tract of time tran- "slated the other hundred also, and "caused them to be fitted unto several "Tunes; which thereupon began to "be sung in private Houses, and by de- "grees to be taken up in all the Chur- "ches of the *French*, which followed "the *Genevian* platform. That *Marot* was the first which attempted the

putting David's Psalms in French Metre, I easily consent: and this must be about the year 1546, if by *Vatablus* his perswasion: but of an essay and design to put the Psalms into Vulgar Metre, I have somewhat an earlier precedent to produce. In the year 1524. *Luther* thus writes to *Spalatinus* touching this matter. *Consilium est exemplo Prophetarum & priscorum Patrum Ecclesie, Psalmos vernaculos condere pro vulgo, id est, spirituales cantilenas, &c.* "I intend, saith he, "after the example of the prophets and "ancient Fathers of the Church, to contrive for the common people, psalms "in their mother-tongue, that is, spiritual songs, that the word of God "may dwell amongst the people, even "in singing. I am therefore every where "looking out for Poets: and seeing "you have great command of, and elegance in, the *German* Tongue, by reason of your long use thereof, I desire "you, that you would labour with "me in this matter, and try to translate some of the psalms into Verse fit "to be sung, as here you have an attempt and pattern of mine. Now I would

Apud
melch
Adam
in vit
Luch.

Chap. III. Duty of Singing. 407

“would have all new and courtlike ex-
“pressions declined, to the end, that,
“according to the peoples capacity,
“most plain and usual, yet cleanly and
“fit words may be sung, and that the
“sense may be rendred clear, and yet as
“near as may be to the psalm. We must
“therefore here use freedom, and ta-
“king the sense, leave the words, ren-
“dering them by other fit words: I
“have not so much grace of speech, as
“to be able to effect what I would in
“this kind: I therefore will try if you
“are an *Heman*, or an *Asaph*, or a *Jeduthun*.
Thus *Luther*, whose endeavours and
attempts in this case were, as we see, a-
bove Twenty years elder than *Marot's*:
but in imitation, as he sayes, of the *Pro-*
phets under the Old Testament, and of
the *Ancient Fathers* under Christianity.
Which, that it is true, namely, that the
Ancient Fathers, as well as the *Prophets*,
composed Hymns for the people in *verse*,
and that the whole body of the people,
as well as some select persons making up
a Quire, used Vocally to join in the pub-
lick singing such Hymns to God, we
have had abundant evidences, and I
think

think undeniable ones. To *Luther's* judgment, that Verse was fittest for the peoples singing, *I* will add *Peter Martyr's*, who treating of Church-musick and singing to God, not onely defends *Poesie* (when used as it ought) but adds a singular commendation of it. By its very *Original*, he asserts it to have been of *sacred* design. "The Ancients, saith he, when they would either by common Votes pay God thanks, or impetrate any benefit from him, were wont to use certain solemn Verses or Poems. And after instances given in several kinds, by several Nations, he proceeds, *Cantus autem, etsi per sese hominum animos oblectat, attamen cum illi Oratio subjicitur, quæ sit numerosa, & pedibus quibusdam alligetur, &c.* "Now singing, saith he, "though singly and of it self "it delight mens minds, yet when such "speech is added thereto as consists of "numbers, and is bound to certain "feet, as we see Verses are, it becomes much more sweet: And such "truly was the *Original* of Poetry: "nor can *I* deny it to be a gift of Gods
but

Loc:
Com.
Class: 3
Lor: 13
sect,
25.

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“but this I could wish, that amongst
“mankind it might be kept pure and
“chast. He proceeds, setting forth
how ancient and frequent the use of it
was in the Jewish Church; and touch-
ing the reception and use thereof in the
Christian, we have spoken already more
abundantly.

The judgment of *Mr. Calvin* in this
case, may be concluded from the pra-
ctice of *Beza*, of which partly account
has been given already, and more might
be said out of his own works: for that
so considerable a practice, as the rendring
or singing *David's Psalms* in *metre*,
should be set up in his Church, without
his approbation, no man that knows of
what spirit he was, will ever imagine.
Though therefore I cannot say, that e-
ver any projected the putting *David's*
Psalms particularly into *metre*, for the
common people to sing, before *Luther*,
yet that he did attempt it, and other
of the Reformers proceeded by the
same pattern, and therefore approved
the practice, is evident; as also, that
both the Antient *Fathers*, and the Re-
formers, did conceive *verse* fit for the

Beza
Tract.
Theol.
vol. I.
p. 654.

publick and *solemn praise* of God, and the later, at least, *prefer* it.

The reasons hereof we may conceive to be (1.) The precedent, which the Holy Ghost gave in this case, inditing the praises of God in old Hebrew verse: which sacred Poems to render merely word for word into the prose of the modern languages, may possibly seem to some not so much to *translate*, as to *metamorphose*, and in the worse sense to *traduce* & disguise them. Such stripping them of their *native glories*, and making only their *naked sense* and *inner substance English*, or of any other like Tongue, while we allow that sense nothing at all of the *graces* of such Tongue, into which it is transplanted, for the *adorning*, or so much as it were *skinning* and *colouring it over*, is only after a sort to make *Skeletons* of them, and naturalize those, not their goodly Original selves. To supply the lost excellencies of another language with new (and suitable) ones in our own, is, in the opinion of a very great Judge in this kind, the *least justice* we can do, to pieces of such ancient and admirable perfection. Though there.

Mr.
Cow-
ley:pr
face to
Pind.
Odes.

therefore as the Psalmes are part of the *Canon of Scripture*, and of the Rule of Faith, they ought to stand in our Bibles (as they do) literally translated, yet when they become choice publick Hymns to be sung in the divine praise, it seems fit they should, as neer as can be, be asserted into their primitive glory, though in a *strange land*, & borrowed language. And (2.) The secret, and it may, unaccountable sweetness, & ravishing power of Poetry, which there is scarce any Nation so barbarous, that hath not given some attestations to. Some delightful objects only affect the sensual, others only the intellectual part. But when divine poetry, and graceful singing and musick do concur, they do *Totum hominem rapere*, transport the whole man; and lift the devout soul, in a manner, above it self. It is not easie to imagine in this case, what external advantages can be added unto these. I only lament, that whereas there are sundry excellent Versions of the Psalms in our Mother-tongue, which have designed this restoring of Holy David's poetry to its self, and in many places

respectively have well effected it, yet there is none made up out of all, or complete, fit for publick use, and authorised.

St. A. 10. As to that which is at present in use in our Parish Churches, it is as much destitute of authority, as it is undeserving of any priviledge or approbation from it. I find no reason to discredit the account, which Dr. Heylin gives of the methods and degrees by which these H. H. of Rhythms grew into so general request Refor. and practice. " Being first allowed F. 127. (saith he) " for private devotion, " they were by little and little brought " into the use of the Church: permitted rather, than allowed to be sung " before and after Sermons; afterwards " printed, and bound up, with the *Common-prayer-book*; and at last added " by the Stationers at the end of the " Bible. — And further, soon after. " At " first it was pretended only that the " said Psalms, should be sung *before and* " *after Morning prayer*, and also *before* " *and after Sermons*: which shews they " were not to be intermingled with the " Liturgy. But in some tract of time, " they

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" they prevailed so far in many places ,
 " as to thrust the *Te Deum*, the *Benedi-*
 " *ctus*, the *Magnificat*, and the *Nunc*
 " *dimittis* quite out of the Church.
 This was their height; which to what
 party our Authour ascribes due, I speak
 not. But as to any stamp of authority
 upon them, take the same persons
 words: " Though (saith he) it be Ibid.
 " expressed in the Title of those singing
 " *Psalm*s, that they were set forth and
 " allowed to be sung in all Churches before
 " and after Morning and Evening prayer,
 " and also before and after sermons, yet
 " this allowance seems rather to have
 " been a connivance, than an approba-
 " tion: no such *Allowance* being any
 " where found, by such as have been
 " most industrious and concerned in the
 " search thereof. And certainly if not
 so much as *Allowance* to be found for
 them, then much less any Law: so that
 I may safely say, any Minister may le-
 gally dismiss or lay them aside in his
 Congregation, that pleases (though I
 do not conceive an equal liberty or pow-
 er to substitute others) and it would
 be both prudence and piety so to do,
F f f 3
would

would the people be satisfied without them, or were we impowered to introduce a better Version in their room. Upon the whole then, it must be concluded, the present parochial use of the Psalms (thus perverted and mangled) rather than translated, is a necessary concession (*pro hic & nunc*) to popular will: and it is to be hoped, that some short time, and due meanes, may make the people wiser, and Reformation in this point easier.

Scd. II. How much such Reformation is to be desired and endeavoured, will appear from the gross mischiefs and *abortions* of devotion, which are generally the inevitable consequent of our common singing these Metres; part whereof are founded in the very Translation it self, and part in the ordinary method of using it.

The Translation it self is so miserably peccant, that it is not easie to imagine any fault incident to Translations, which does not ever and anon occur in this. I presume the account of the common vices of Translations, given by the learned Mr. *Weemse* of *Lathoquar* in Scotland, may

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may pass allowed with all whom I have to deal with. "A Translation, saith he, must not be *servile*, *luxuriant*, *barbarous*, *contentious* (which he explains *non sensum, sed Etymologias verborum interpretans*) not affected nor malicious. Of all these faults in this, I could produce plentiful and very frequent instances (and some anon in most cases follow) saving only that I cannot be so uncharitable to the ashes of the authors, as to suspect, much less to charge them of malice: they had undoubtedly an honest intention; but as to us, the consequence is the same.

— *Quid refert ferro pereamne ruinâ?*

What has befallen in other Translations through the malice of those authors, comes to pass almost in every Psalm through the unskillfulness of these, the Original and *genuine* sense is notoriously mist or perverted. Then for the Poetry, none can easily be more faulty. Their being at a strait for a Rhythm, makes them at any time violate sense, Grammar, and all propriety of speech, nay speak dishonourably or ridiculously of God himself. I cannot

not expect some men should digest what I say here, except I set down some few instances of many, to make good this charge: in the very threshold we find frequent stumbles (a very ill omen of the success.)

Pf. I. 1. *The man is blest that hath not bent
To wicked read his ear.*

Not one man of a thousand; that sings this, understands it. I have heard many pretty Glosses what should be the sense of a mans *reading his ear to the wicked*; whereas the word *Read* here, must be taken to be a Noun substantive, and signifie *Lessons* or *Doctrine*, in which sense for some centuries of years it has been much unusual. *Bending a mans ear* is

Ver. 3. almost as uncouth. Then who can endure, except in Buffonry, or in a Ba-

Ver. 5. lade, *A trees due time and tide*, and in judgment stand upright? But this is elegancy in comparison of what follows in the next Psalm.

Pf. II. 7. *For in this wise the Lord himself*

ver. 9. *Did say to me, I wot. — And*

Thou shalt them bruise even with a mace,

As men under foot trod.

I will pass by the *servility* of *ver. 12.* which perverts it into non-sense, or what is scarce intelligible, and advance a little farther into the book; for possibly some may think, more of practice might improve our Poets. But alas! they are all along constant to their strain. *Psal. V. v. 6.* there wanted a syllable to the verse, and another necessary, but very difficult accomplishment called a Rhythm: the word to be Rhymed to is *man*; in comes *than*, and against all possible sense and reason, the verse runs;

Thou shalt destroy them than.

P. V 5.

I have passed the excellent rhyming of *consider to prayer*, *ver. 1.* (parallel to *Another of the same*, *Psal. LXXVIII. 4.* where *after* must rhyme to *wonder*, & in the same Psalm, *ver. 46. Caterpillar to Grasshopper*) having met with a trick or two to bring terminations to better chiming: For examples sake, the Verse to be rhymed to is, *His arrows keen and sharp*, that quaint phrase will do the feat, *While he doth mischief warp*; and 'tis a new and neat metaphor, and, for ought I know, just then came out of the

PC VII.

13.

Pf. IX.
16.

Loom. To omit other passages in our way; this old hag *Necessity* riding us again, we are at a loss for a Rhyme to *mark*: well, let the *o* in *work* go to wrack (and the business is done) *L, trapt in his own work.* But if this will not do, as sometimes it will not, then we must even force words out of their sense.

Pf. X.
17. *Their hearts thou wilt confirm until
Thine ears to hear be prest.*

Pf. 78.
12.

That is, if we read according to the Original, *Thou wilt prepare their heart, thou wilt cause thine ear to hear.* To admirable purpose then these *metres* were, as it is said in their Title-page, *conferred with the Hebrew*; where undoubtedly too was found *the Field which called is Taneos* (the Genitive case of *Tane*, a word framed by the *Greek Septuagint*, or *Chaldee Paraphrast*) very barbarously retained by the *Vulgar Latin* as a *Nominative* for *the field of Zoan*. Well, but the word *prest* is an elegant serviceable word, and therefore we must have it again within two verses of the place where we last found it.

Pf. XI.
2.

Behold the wicked bend their bow,

And

And make their arrows drest.

I had almost overlookt another flower, VERI.
 which grows very near this same. *How dare ye then, say thus my soul until?*
 ver. 1. These words may seem good enough to treat wicked men in, but sure of God, or to God, we may expect more proper language. However, either we have it not about us, or that merciless Fiend Rhythm will not suffer us to afford it.

For now my foes which vexed me

PS. VI.

The Lord will soon defame.

10

Not unlike to this phrase, is that,

Lord at thy wrath and threatening,

PS. 18.

And at thy chideing chear, &c.

14.

Shall we now hear a description of the Majesty of the divine appearance?

On Cherubs and on Cherubims,

Full royally he rode.

That is, *On the same, and on the same.* PS. 18.
 Here is admirable conferring V. 10,
 with the Hebrew, and much the Colla- 11.
 tors understood an Hebrew Plural. But let the state proceed,

And like a den most dark he made

His hid and secret place.

Whether also what next produce, be

spoken with more manners or propriety let all men judge.

Ps. XX. *And so receive right thankfully*

3. *Thy burnt offerings each one.*

According to the plain import of the words, though not according to the authors intention, as I believe, *Take thy offerings and be thankful,*

Thus much out of the first Twenty Psalms, for a tast of T. S. his Poetical vein: onely I will add, I scarce know one Psalm of his ordering, out of which more, or worse stuff than this might not be produced. I have omitted many passages, because sufficiently in every bodies mouth. But surely may some think, his partner J. H. had better luck: Let us then take the first psalm of his handling, and 'tis a psalm of an excellent subject, and proper to fill Christian mens mouths; but rendred unfit for use, by reason a middle verse of it is made into intolerable barbarity or Non sense.

Psa. *This is the brood of Travellers,*

XXIV. *In seeking of his grace:*

v. 6. *As Jacob did the Israelite,*

In that time of his race.

Nor

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Nor is he at all inferiour to T. S. in his elegant and proper juncture of words. We will take a few instances. In his next Psalm, we have a graceful passage;

Mine eyes wax dim, my sight doth fail,

Pf. 31.

My womb for wo doth ache.

9.

Certainly people might be very merry at singing these Psalms. Again v. 24.

Be strong, and God will stay your heart,

Be bold and have a lust.

But not to trouble my Reader too far: there is one Psalm which is alone sufficient for instances of this nature, namely Ps: LXXVIII, and which will satisfy any who reads it, that I do not unjustly censure J. H. his Poetry;

He rained down Manna for them to eat,

A food of wickle wonder.

ver, 24,

Risum teneatis? Would not a man take this for a Northern Ballade? Nor does he handle God with more proper and decent expressions;

For why, as stones thy strength is try'd.

Of which not one word in the Original.

Pf. 31. 2

What is his goodness clean decay'd,

Pf. 77:

For ever and a day?

v. 8.

And,

*Gods mighty hand can help all this,
And change it when he lust.*

Again,
*Tea many a time he turnd his wrath,
And did himself advise :*

Pf. 78.
58.

*And would not suffer all his whole
Displeasure to arise.*

I will not weary my self, nor Reader any farther. These instances I presume amply suffice to evince, that no man of sense or any tolerable education can sing these *metres* as they ly (except they be a little pickt and culled) with devotion, and that the very Translation it self must needs flatten or nansate mens minds in this Heavenly exercise of *singing* to God.

This will be more apparent, if we consider the Ordinary method of using it. The *Parish-clerk* (a person commonly of as little judgment as most of the people, but of much more conceitedness and pertness) chooses any Psalm, that he has an humour for, that is many times, any that first comes to hand, which he knows, and can fit a tune for: this he dictates out of the book, line by line, and the people sing it broken-ly

ly, in such petite and imperfect shreds. Now herein are many mischiefs, of which the least is not the *Clerks imprudent choice*: He oftentimes shall begin in a broken sentence, with a causal, or illative, or such like clause; where for want of what went before, the act of judgment, or the perception of the subject matter and sense, being miserably incomplete, such needs must be all their devotion, who sing. This evil is not seldom occasioned by the division of the Psalms into *First* and *Second* and *Third Parts*: For it must be acknowledged, those who modelled them into this frame, having regard onely to the strict quantity of four or five staves, which they thought neither too much nor too little to be sung at one time, indiscreetly made such lame partitions of them. That will be evident by any slight inspection into the book. To omit precedent instances: the Eighteenth Psalm is divided into five parts; the second and fifth begin each with a copulative clause thus, *And like, &c. And still like, &c.* The third with a discretive *But evermore, &c.* And as if the mischief men-

tic.

tioned did not occur too frequently by this means, it having of later years been found too tedious to sing alwaies one of those whole partitions at a time, there is occasion of subdivisions, and those made at the pleasure of the Clerk; so that as things stand in most of our Parish-Churches, 'tis three to one but these our publick Hymns to God, begin with imperfect sense. If we should escape this rock, 'tis still as great odds, but the same persons imprudence drives us on another: A Psalm not proper enough to the Christian state, and which concerns not at all the divine praise, but some other particular remoter subject, shall be proclaimed to be *sung to the praise and glory of God*; and the abused Congregation shall *in his praise sing confusion to their foes*, that is, in effect manytimes, direful imprecations one against another.

But admit we have a more prudent Parish Clerk (which God forbid but in some places we should have) or that he is directed and over-ruled in this case by the Minister, yet the *Giving of the Psalm* (as we usually term it) occasi-

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ons the same loss or stumble to devotion, as before: the lines are so very short, and the sense of one so runs into the sense of the next, & that it may be into a third, that we must stay many times till the people have sung two lines, and the Clerk has read three, or both more, before we can comprehend what is the design of that sentence, the greatest part of which, notwithstanding we are supposed to have already sung to God: now in so long a suspense of the mind, how it can possibly frame such distinct and pertinent thoughts, as in this Heavenly act of Worship ought to employ it, let any person of reason judge.

After all, admit we could avoid each of the mentioned inconveniencies, yet the meer *irregularities* and discordant jarrings of the multitudes singing, in most places, so grates the ear, as that it is very difficult even for the best, the most prudent and charitable men, to be devoutly conversant in this so necessary and ravishing part of Gods service. They are St. *Augustine's* words, and and not purely an objection of mine. *In choro cantantium quisquis voce discrepa-*

In Psal.

149.

H h h

26.

verit, offendit auditum, & perturbat eborum. "Dissonant and clashing voices in

"a Quire, offend the hearing, and disturb the whole Quire. Now in our Parish Churches none being hindred to sing (neither young nor old, serious nor vain, nay, scarce fools & madmen) & all weak and Pharisaical persons thinking, they then sing best when lowdest, doth it not daily come to pass, that one part of the Assembly squeaks, another roars, a third chatters, &c. and scarce one in ten sings so much as in a decent, grave and reverent tone? From all these grounds, how many ungrateful disturbances of devotion do arise, it is not easie to comprehend or state: so various unhappy junctures do occur in our present parochial practice, and so frequent are the occasions of miscarriage!

Sec. 12. Now before we can come to consider what particular redress may be applied (especially in this last case) it is necessary we lay one foundation, as well to justify a certain particular means of redress, which we shall anon direct, where it is to be had, as for the full vindication of our Cathedral practice: and that is,

is, some satisfactory evidence for the *use of instrumental musick* in the *publick Worship* under the *Gospel*. Touching this we must enquire, whether it be *lawful*, and whether it be *expedient*, in the present, I mean the *Evangelical* state.

The former of these I should not have thought necessary to have been asserted by any solemn proof (for it seems to me to have intrinsecal natural clearness enough in it self, to approve it self to every mans reason) but that it has been gainstayed by some persons of great piety and learning, and therefore deservedly of great authority in all the Reformed Churches. Wherefore the only proof conceive, it needs will be the *Removal of the reason*, on which they build their plea of its unlawfulness, and that is purely this supposition, That the instrumental Musick used of old in the Jewish Church, was merely a matter of *ceremonial institution*, and belonged to the *Judaical Pedagogy*; no more therefore to be followed or practised by us under the Gospel, than their *Circumcision*, *New moons*, *Sacrifices*, and the like points of their Worship. This

In com-
ment.
in 1. ad
Cor. 14

has been affirmed by Mr. Calvin, as we have already seen, by Peter Martyr (whom yet we have found elsewhere commending expressly Church-musick, whatever he meant by the name) and diverse other moderns; & indeed it seems insinuated by Aquinas himself in the place before-mentioned, & an elder author. In answer whereunto, though it might seem sufficient to say, it is (*Gratis dictum*) magisterially said, without reason assigned for it, & they who affirm'd it, or do affirm it, by all law ought to prove (which I do not see to be possible in this case, nor have yet found fairly attempted) yet I shall propose such evidences, as may as fully evince the contrary, as a Negative can well be proved.

Onely it will be necessary (in order to the making our way plainer), to premise that all circumstances of Worship, or modes and Ceremonies used by the Jews, were not purely Jewish & legal, but some of natural right, and fit to all states of the Church. The Jews, for instance, used to pray kneeling, and lifting up their hands, and most times eyes; which postures, though evidently but

ceremonies and circumstances of prayer, yet he, who will say they are *Judaical* and unfit for Christian Worship, because used by the Jewes, must condemn not onely *St. Paul*, and the whole Christian Church ever from the beginning, but even our Lord Christ himself. In like manner, the Jewes used to *fast*, which is but an appendage of divine Worship, yet it is not fasting therefore peculiar to the ceremonial, but also proper for the Christian people. The same may be said of their *Weekly Sabbath*, plainly asserted to be ceremonial (*Col. II. 16.*) which yet we do not doubt to copy in our Lords day. It were endless to reckon up all instances that might be alledged of this nature: The result then, in a word, is, That these modes and appendages of Worship, which genuine reason and natural fitness dictated to the Jewes, are not to be esteemed purely Jewish ceremonies, nor belonging to the legal Pedagogy, but (*ceteris paribus*) fit for all ages of the Church. And of this nature do I contend, the use of *instrumental* Musick in the Worship of God amongst them to have been: And

for proof hereof I say,

First, it is of the essence of a *Jewish* or *legal ceremony*, that it be *significative*, or a *Type* of somewhat to come to pass, or to be done, under *Christianity*: And those things, which have an *intrinsecal aptness and efficacy* to excite devotion, may not be accounted *Jewish ceremonies*, but *natural* and (as occasion serves) *standing helps* of *divine Worship*. Now if any will affirm *instrumental Music* to have been purely *legal and ceremonial*, what will he assign in *Christianity*, as the *substance* of this shadow? Will he take up *Element* of *Alexandria* his forced allegories in this case, and say? The *Decathordon* or instrument with ten strings, signifies the name *Jesus*, because the first letter of it Originally stands for *Ten*. And that the *Psalttery* denotesthe *Humane tongue*, and the *Harp* the *Humane mouth*, which is moved by the spirit of *God*, as the *Harp* is struck by the hand. These things will not pass now, though they seem'd pretty to an age, which turn'd the very *History* of the *Creation* into *Allegories*. (And yet I shall shew presently, that

Prædag.
l. 2. c. 4.

Vid.
Orig.
in Gen.
1.

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that not even *Clement* himself disallow-
 ed *instrumental Musick* in the praise of
 God.) Or, as to the other point, if
 any will deny the *natural aptness* of
 such Musick to calm inordinate affecti-
 on, to beget a divine temper, to draw
 forth the mind in love of God, and con-
 templation of pure and heavenly goods,
 to lift it up above earth, and, in a man-
 ner, above it self, how will he answer
 the experience and consenting suffrages
 of Mankind. It were easie to produce
 amongst the Heathen, many known pas-
 sages of *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Tully*, nay, of
 the severer men, *Solon* and *Lycurgus*; Geogr.
 the Collections of *Strabo*, *Macrobius*, l. 10.
 and especially of *Quintilian* in this point. c. 11.
 The case of *Saul*, when prophesying, In som.
 the advice his wise men gave him, when Scip. l.
 the evil spirit should come upon him, 2. c. 3.
 the effect of his following their advice, Instit. l.
 together with what has been above l. c. 10.
 touched of the Old Prophets, suffici- 1. Sm.
 ently speak the sense of the Jewes; and 16. 16.
 more might be added out of *Philo*. And De vi-
 that the Christian world never concei- tan.
 ved otherwise of the power of Musick Officia.
 is evident both from the practices of the

Ancient Fathers, refining and accomplishing Church Musick by degrees, according as times would admit, and as the needs of the Church did require (of which an account particular enough has been already given) and from particular Texts of theirs, several of which have been already produced, and many more might be added: As St. *Cyprian's*, *Prolectat auris religiosa mulcedo*; St. *Basil's* comparison of God, in his providential contriving of divine Mysteries into Psalms to be sung by the people, to a wise Physician, and the τὸ ἐν τῇ μελωδίᾳ καὶ πόνῳ, *the delightfulness of the melody*, and τὸ ὁσώλως καὶ λείνῳ τῇ ἀκασίᾳ, *the soft and smooth notes*, to those sweets where-with medicines are made up to make them more grateful, and gently efficacious; St. *Austin's* acknowledgment of the tears which the Churches sweet singing the Hymnes and divine Songs drew from him. (*Quantum fleui in Hymnis & Canticis suave sonantis Ecclesie tue? &c.*) Touching which passages, and diverse others, though it may be said, the Fathers spake onely of Vocal Musick, there being then no other in publick Holy use amongst

Epist.

12.ep.2

Homil.

in Pl.1.

Confer.

l. 9.c.6.

amongst Christians, yet (*first*) it is plain, the words of the Testimonies (of the two first, at least) are very indefinite and comprehensive of all musical sounds whatsoever, and are therefore attestations of the power and usefulness of musick in divine matters; and, Secondly, they all hold (*à fortiori*) touching our present use: that I will prove by setting down some of those wonderful effects, which the author of *Quæst. & Responsion. ad Ortkodox.* in *Justin Martyr's Works* attributes to singing.

ἡ ψαλμὸς ὁ ὁδὸς τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, &c. "It cheers the
 "mind into a fervent desire of what is
 "celebrated in song: it allaiies all passi-
 "ons that rise from the fleshly part: it
 "drives away the thoughts which our
 "invisible enemies cast in. Many more
 passages of like nature, both there,
 and in the Homily of St. Basil's but just
 now cited, were, I confess, spoken tou-
 ching such Musick as was then in the
 Church, that is Vocal. But suppose
 people now to sing with due attention
 and understanding, instrumental mu-
 sick being adjoined both to govern and
 help their Voices, must not all these

Qu.
107.

Elogies of the virtue of Church-musick be much more verified touching such accomplisht singing, than touching that meaner way? Of this *I* may truly avow; what *Luther* does of musick in general, if he be not misalledged by *Seibus Calvisius* for not finding that Epistle in *Luther's Works*, I can onely speak it at second hand) *Scimus musicam Dæmonibus etiam invisam & intolerabilem esse.* "No Devil can stand before such musick. Nay, saith he, *Planè judico nec pudet asserere, post Theologiam esse nullam artem quæ possit musica equari.* "I am fully satisfied in my judgment, nor am I ashamed to aver it, that, Divinity excepted, there is no Science which can match musick; I suppose he meant as to its divine operations on the mind of man. And *I* really perswade my self, there is scarce any man void of prejudice, whose natural temper can be so odd, as not to have some experience and sense of the power of musick in general: Much deeper impressions then, must such musick as *I* plead for make on all, were it not still, *I* say, for prejudice. To all
this

Ad
Sensu-
um
musi-
cum.

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this I might add (what has been noted by diverse before me) there can no reason be assigned , why instrumental musick should be ceremonial, and Vocal not : Either neither , or both, must be part of the Jewish Pædagoꝑy. The later our aduersaries will not allow; let them therefore be just to their own reasons , and disclaim their assertion touching the former. I conclude then , that both were introduced (as we shall presently see , at Gods direction) into diuine Worship , not as types , figures , or Jewish ceremonies , but as outward helps , and natural advantages of spiritual devotion.

It is a further proof hereof, Secondly, that the institution of instrumental musick , and of the Jewish Quire, was much of later date to the delivery of the Levitical Law , and the sealing up the ceremonial Canon by the hand of Moses. Not onely the Moral Law, but the דברים and the שופטים , The Judges

ments and the Statutes, that is, the Judicial and the Ceremonial part were compleated and consigned by Moses.

Hearken, O Israel, unto the statutes,

Mr.
Hook
Eccl.
Ps. 15.
Dr.
Heyl.
Ge.

Deut.
IV. 1, 2.

and

XII. 32.

and unto the judgments, *which I teach you.* *Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall you diminish ought from it.* A new point of Jewish ceremony (purely I mean such) might not be made; and it any thing of that nature seem to have followed in the Prophets, it was onely an explication of *Moses* his institutions, and no new institution of it self. Now after this consignation of the Judaical law, and so of the ceremonial Worship, by *Moses*, there had passed neer 550. years, before *ny Quire* was ordained, or instrumental musick introduced among the Jewes: for this fell into the quieter and more settled part of *King David's* reign, *After that the Ark had rest*, saith the Text: (1 *Chron. VI. 31.* and *Chap. XVI. 4.*) and is therefore by *Ezra*, by way of eminency, called the *Ordinance of David King of Israel*, though the institution hereof were not purely by him: for *the word of the Lord* in this behalf came not by him alone, but by other contemporary prophets. Thus we read, 2 *Chr. XXIX. 25.* *The Levites were set in the House of the Lord with cym*

Ezra

III. 10.

cymbals, with psalteries, and with harps, according to the commandment of David, and of Gad the Kings Seer, and of Nathan the prophet; For so was the commandment of God by his prophets. And though we find but three prophets here spoken of, yet by how many more this institution was confirmed, we know not: for even *Asaph* was a Seer (2 Chr. XXIX. 30.) and *Jeduthun* the Kings Seer (chap. XXXV. 15.) and *Heman* undoubtedly inspired also; and this same, or somewhat relating to it, is called *the commandment of David, and Asaph, and Heman, and Jeduthun*, in the place last mentioned. From all which passages it is evident, both that this institution came from God, and that this, and no other, was the critical season, whence it is to bear date: and consequently, it will be very unreasonable to make that a part of the ceremonial law and worship, which came not into the world, till so considerable a tract of time after the consignation, reception and practice of that law and worship.

To this argument, I see not what pre-

tence of an answer can be made, except it should either be said, that *Moses* did not fully deliver the ceremonial law (which is very unreasonable, and besides intolerable in them, who contend he perfectly delivered the law *moral*, and withall contrary to diverse passages in the New Testament) or that some instrumental musick in the worship of God, though not so great variety, was ordained before this time, and that by the very letter of *Moses* his law. Now in this behalf I cannot divine what should be challenged, except haply the *silver trumpets*, which the *Priests the sons of Aaron*, and they alone were to sound: and this pretence if it be made, I except against, as utterly void of truth. For let the law touching these *Trumpets* be examined, and we shall find, that though they were designed to different uses, yet the paying any praise, or proper act of Worship unto God by sounding them, was not in any of those uses included or intended, any further than we may be said indirectly and interpretatively to praise or worship God by every common act

we

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we do inobedience to him. The place is, *Numb. X*, from v: 1. to 11. In the second verse we find two uses of them expressly set down, both *civil*; they were to be sounded for *calling assemblies*, and for the *journeying of the camps*. These two, together with the different sounds for each, are explicated and defined in the six following verses. In the ninth verse a *military use*, for *blowing and Alarm*, is assigned. The tenth verse seems to prescribe something of a more *sacred use*, but that very impertinent to our case. *In the day of your gladness, and in your solemn daies, and in the beginnings of your months ye shall blow with the trumpets over your Burnt offerings, and over the sacrifices of your Peace offerings, that they may be to you for a memorial before God.* They were to be sounded on publick solemnities and Festivals, for notifying to the people those Solemnities, and the offerings made thereon. To these uses, and these alone were the *two silver trumpets* (and but *two* they were) appointed and limited: nor can any more reasonably or naturally be concluded either

ther from the law in this case, which I have faithfully represented, or from the Jewes practice in obedience thereto. The affixing them to the *Priests*, so that none might *blow with these trumpets*, but the *Priests* (*ver. 8.*) does not at all help the matter: For it is most rationally and judiciously observed by Master *Calvin* in this regard, that "God there-
 "by onely designed to root in the
 "minds of the people a deeper awe and
 "reverence in all publick actions, *Ut*
cunctis actionibus praeiret sacerdotum au-
toritas, "That they should enterprise
 "no publick affairs without the autho-
 "rity of the *Priests*, and so of God.
 And for this reason he justly reduces
 this *law* of the silver trumpets, to the
 first commandment of *Having no other*
gods. Therefore, saith he, "they
 "might not hold publick assemblies,
 "except called thereto by the *Priests*
 "sounding the Trumpets, that they
 "might regard God in all such assem-
 "blies, and learn all assemblies were
 "accursed, which were not called ac-
 "cording to Gods Ordinance. For the
 same reason, as he proceeds more at
 large,

Har-
 mon. in
 4 libr.
 Mot. ad
 Praec.
 prim.
 in fin.

large, they might not go to war, but receiving the alarm from these Trumpets; that so rashness and private revenge might never draw them into bat-
tel, but onely due and approved cause.

And as to the words of promise annex-
thereto, *And ye shall be remembered be-*

Vcr. 9.

*fore the Lord your God, and be saved
from your enemies;* these are a further
proof hereof, and as much as if it had
been said, When you go to war thus
duly called forth by God, it appears
you act in obedience to him, fighting,
as it were, under his Banner, and with
trust and dependance upon him; he
will therefore be mindful to preserve

such his confiding and obedient sub-
jects. The same still, according both
to reason, and the judgment of the
said authour, was designed by God in
appointing the Trumpets to sound on
their Festival Solemnities, and over
their *Sacrifices*: "they might not ap-
"point Festivals at their own will, nor
"offer according to their own pleasure
thereon. (*Id perinde fuit, ac si palam*

*faceret Deus nullos se probare dies Festos,
nec sibi placere sacrificia, nisi praeunte suo*

mandato. — Autoritas præscribendi fuit penes sacrorum ministros) They were to expect Gods commands from his Priests, and when they met together according to his prescript order (thus signified to them) and offered accordingly, *Their Feasts and their Sacrifices should be for a memorial before God,* “ He would regard their Offerings, “ and remember the Offerers with his “ fatherly loving kindness. — *O si sic omnia!* An excellent commentary, and such, which, as far as I am able to see, exquisitely reaches the whole intent and the very words of the Text! We have then here no instrumental musick in the Worship of God prescribed, according to the judgment of Master Calvin.

Vid.
Mun-
ster. &
P. Fag.
in lo-
cum u-
trumq;

No more does the *Feast of the Trumpets* (Levit. XXIII. 24.) belong to this cause. For that was, say the *Hebrews*, onely a memorial of *Isaac's* being delivered from the altar, and exchanged with a *Ram*. The same also they say of the *Feast of the Jubilee* (Levit. XXV. 9.) and of the sounding the *Trumpet* thereon (though that was doubt-

doubtless to proclaim it) Wherefore the Trumpets which they sounded on both these solemnities, were not the *silver* Trumpets of the Sanctuary, but others made of Rams horns, such as were used at the fall of the walls of *Jericho*. And their doctrine and practice in these cases, they ground hereon, that *רַבִּי* of old with them, and *רַבִּי* still in Arabick, according to their Rabbies, signifies a Ram.

Upon the whole then, it is plain, *Instrumental musick* in the worship of God was not prescribed by the Ceremonial Law. There are indeed some footsteps of the use of it upon a publick triumph, in thanksgiving to God, some months before the Law given; which the *natural fitness* of the thing, and possibly *secret inspiration* (for she was a *prophetess* that begun it) might suggest, and that precedent in like cases might sometimes after be drawn into practice: But it never was a Divine Ordinance, nor became a standing Church practice, until *Dauids* time; nor can therefore be a branch of the Ceremonial institutes.

Exod.
XV. 20

Thirdly, To him that rightly, and without prejudice weigheth the matter, I doubt not but it will appear, that *instrumental musick* (so used, as I plead for) is not onely helpful unto us, exciting the heart, and enlarging the affections in the Worship of God, but that it is by a *natural aptness*, congruity, and some kind of *justice*, becoming certain more solemn parts and performances of that Worship; particularly I mean the publick Office of *singing* to God. That we are to sing to him, is granted on all hands: the issue then or point in controversie, seems to be in truth onely this, Whether when we sing to God, we are to sing *well* or *ill*? Harmoniously, and with a sweet consent of voice, as well as heart, or with such jarrings, confusion and disorder of Tones, as may make men even *loath the offerings of the Lord*? No man can be presumed to be so void of reason and justice as to say, Men may innocently for their own or others delight and diversion, sing well and regularly; but when they sing to God, 'tis no matter what disorder there be in their voices; and

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and disorder generally there will be, if instruments may not be allowed. The Scripture however gives the case on our side: *Make ye his praise glorious*, Psal. LXVI. 2. *Sing unto him a new song. Play skilfully with a loud voice*, וְשִׁיר וְכִנּוּר. Make good play, (or make sweet melody) on the harp, as *Isa. XXIII. 10*. To which, a multitude of places out of the Psalms might be added. And it is certainly as reasonable, that we should praise God in the best sort we can, as with the best member which we have, to use the words of the old Version. In a word, so necessary are instruments for the making up Harmony, and accomplishing publick singing, &c. so fit, & eternally due to the divine praise, are such accomplishments, that even in Heaven, the Quire of the Blessed are represented, as if they motionly used Tongues, but Instruments to those their Hallelujahs. In St. John's Vision, the four and twenty Elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one their harps. And when the Lamb appeared on Mount Zion, and his pure retinue of an hundred and forty and four thousand, which follow the

Psal. 33.
2.

Psal. CVIII.
v. 1.

Rev. V.
8.

Revel. XIV.
2, 3.

Rev.
XV.
2, 3.

Lamb wherever he goeth, I heard, saith St. John, The voice of Harpers harping with their harps. And they sung as it were a new song before the Throne. They also who had the victory over the beast, and over his image, and over the number of his name (such, I hope, were not Popishly affected) had the harps of God in their hands: and they sing the song of Moses the servant of the Lord, and the song of the Lamb. I do not conceive, that these things were real, or thus materially transacted in Heaven; but these are the images and resemblances, most naturally approaching to, and by which we can best understand, what is done there: and if the *Holy Ghost* thought fit thus to represent to the Christian Church, the pattern of the *Heavenly* praise, it cannot be unlawful for us on earth, with reverence and decency, to conform thereto. Fourthly, The ceremonial Law was given onely to the Jewes, to be observed by them till the coming of the *Messiah*: But not onely Jewes but Gentiles, all peoples and Nations, whatsoever and wheresoever, all mankind are called upon, and required to celebrate the

the praises of God, with singing and all manner of musick, and that for the salvation wrought by the *Messias*, our Lord Christ Jesus. Hereof though diverse evidences might be given out of the *Psalms*, yet none more full and satisfactory (that I know of) than what the *XCVIII.* affords, that being a Psalm undoubtedly designed by the Spirit of Prophecie, in praise of God, for the redemption of mankind and publication of the Gospel, to which, particularly, the second and third verses of that Psalm are four times expressly applied by the Holy Ghost, namely, Luke I. in the Hymn of the *blessed Virgin, of Zachary*, and of *Simeon*, and in the preaching of *John the Baptist*; and the ninth or concluding Verse of it, celebrates Christ as Judge, as the former celebrated him as Saviour. Now in this Psalm, though the first *Apostrophe*, with which the Psalm begins, may seem chiefly directed to the Jewes, that they should praise God for his righteousness openly shewn in the sight of the *Heathen*, yet, *Ver. 4.* the speech is turned to all people, to the inhabitants of the Earth,

and

Luke I.
54. 72.
& Ch.
II. 31.
& Ch.
III. 6.

Ver. 7.

and those that are on the broad Sea, Gentiles as well as Jewes. *Make a joyful noise unto the Lord all ye Earth, Make a loud noise and rejoyce and sing praise. Sing unto the Lord with the harp, with the harp and the voice of a Psalm: With trumpets and sound of the Cornet, &c. Let the Sea roar and the fulness thereof. the world and they that dwell therein* To the Jewish ceremonial Worship, none, besides Jewes, were to be admitted, nor might by the Law join therein, excepting onely the *קדושים* the *Profelytes of righteousness*, persons thoroughly turn'd Jewes: but to praise God with *harps and cornets* and all manner of instruments, and that for spiritual and Evangelical blessings, all the world, who are partakers thereof, are required and summoned. Therefore this institution cannot be meerly ceremonial or peculiar to *Judaism*, but belongs to all ages and people even under the Gospel.

Lastly, Where can any shew us that passage, either from our Lords mouth, or from the Apostles hands, which declares, or so much as insinuates this
where

institution to have been legal and ceremonial, or abrogate? Or is it any where in the Old Testament intimated, that it was to be but Temporary?

In summe then, and to bring the evidence given as closely as may be to our cause, and together to the obviating our adversaries suggestions: It is plain, *instrumental musick* in the worship of God was of divine institution, and is expressly called a *commandment of God*; therefore it cannot be in it self unlawful, or what some may mean by *Will-worship*: most passionate exhortations at least, if not commands, to this practice, are directed to all mankind, Gentiles as well as Jewes; therefore it is not purely *Judaical*: and evident it is, the reason of this institution was not such, as of the ceremonies, no significativeness of Christian mysteries, but the natural efficacy of the thing to raise devotion, and its fitness to *make the praise of God glorious*, brought it in; therefore the reasons of the Law continuing, it is very unreasonable to say, the Law was temporary, except either at the making of this Law, it had been

declared such, or some subsequent passage, or Evangelical precept, had annull'd it, none of which can be produced. And to say it was abrogated in the Gross, as being part of the ceremonial Law (which all acknowledge abrogate by the Gospel) is still as unreasonable, seeing it is neither part of it, as being of later date many centuries of years, nor a kin to it, as being not at all *Typical*, but of natural *usefulness* and *decency*, becoming the service of God, and helpful to us therein. *Instrumental musick* in the worship of God; is therefore lawful under the Gospel: Or rather (because if it had been only allowed of old, and that allowance now repealed, it might from thence have been concluded lawful, therefore having been once by God prescribed), it must be esteemed in some measure obligatory, to be continued and kept up, where the condition of affairs in the Church of God will admit.

S. 8. 13. It remains now, that we examine the *expediency* of the practice we plead for: for, according to our great Apostle, many things may be *lawful*, which
are

are not *expedient* And here, that none may have reason to suspect, I have wittingly waved any difficulty, the solution whereof might conduce to any mans satisfaction, I shall extend the consideration of this Point to all cases, as well general, as more particular, which I can judge subject to question. As first, Whether it be expedient under the Gospel, or in the Christian state in general? Then more specially, Whether it be expedient under the Reformation, or in a Protestant Church? And Lastly, whether in our Church particularly.

When the Question is moved touching any thing, whether it be *expedient*, I presume mens common sense thereof is, Whether the thing, being considered according to *particular circumstances*, be good and eligible. Now under the Gospel, or in a *Christian state* of things, that which is chiefly to be considered as most *particular* or peculiar to the worship *required by God*, according to the very Doctrine of our Lord himself, is this, that by way of Eminency we *worship God in spirit and in truth* is not

John
IV. 23.

ly with external adoration, and formal addressees (as did a great part haply of the ancient world in general) nor with figurative rites and sacrifices, as did the Jewes, but consecrating to him first of all our souls, and by faith and love sincerely cleaving to him in every act of Worship, which, according to his institution, we pay unto him. And hereto, if instrumental musick were in the least repugnant, or (as I plead for it) prejudicial, I would have a thousand times exposed both life and fortunes, before I would ever have writ a word in its defence. But, as I have above both asserted and proved it to conduce much to the composing the soul, to stirring up affections, and enlarging the heart, as well as to other laudable purposes, so do I profess before the *Searcher of all hearts*, that I have not spoken or affirmed such things of it, but upon mine own experience and present sense, and upon as great assurance, as well can be had, of the like, from a multitude of serious and discreet Christians, with whom I have conversed. I confess, indeed, Sing-
ing

ing it self (alone and without instruments) when tolerably melodious and orderly, much contributes hereto : but when meet instruments are added to make up the Harmony , the efficacy is much greater, and , to minds in any indifferent aptitude , well nigh irresistible. Being therefore I find this practice to conduce so intimately to , and to comply with , what is most peculiarly the *Evangelical worship* (namely , the *affectionate adhesion of the soul to God*) I conclude it to be of the number of the *τὰ Κυρίως*, not onely *lawful* but *expedient* under Christianity. 1 Cor. X. 23.

Why any should doubt , whether it be *expedient under the Reformation* , I can guess at nothing else as a reason, but the common infirmity of Humane nature , which, through abhorrency of one Evil, too frequently runs into the contrary Extreme. There is indeed great abuse of *Church-musick* in the Romish Church. Gross and intolerable enough it had been, that all their publick service should be in *Latin* , and so by the very language commonly unknown to the people : But that this

Latin too should be so disguised by their musick, and way of singing, that even the Learned themselves, except well skilled in the daily Offices (a matter of no small difficulty) and able to turn their books (which, if I mistake not my self, the meer Laicks seldom have) and, besides this finally, keeping their eyes almost constantly upon them, cannot possibly understand any considerable part of what is sung, or so much as in their minds go along distinctly, and join with the Quire (this I say) leaves them no excuse, and renders their publick worship meer Pageantry; both learned and unlearned (at least of the Laity) are unprofitable. Nor do we find their leaders at all concerned at this mischief: they are so far from designing their peoples understanding (in the publick worship I mean) that they plainly contend it not to be necessary, and indeed may seem to have contrived all wayes imaginable to blind them. Hence it comes to pass, that in a manner, all Religion amongst them is placed in the performance of certain external acts (commonly thus or thus

fre-

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frequently , or to such a number) and their people bred to believe , their meer having heard a *Mass* , or some such like office (of which they scarce understand a word) to be a principal service of God. Now , because it cannot but be a dull and tedious employment for men to be held by the ears, an hour or two , with words , the sense whereof they are ignorant of , it was therefore contrived in order to making the people swallow so unpleasing and senseless a worship , that all delicacy of Musick and Singing should be used in far the greatest part of their publick Offices , whether the subject matter of them were fit to be sung, or not. So that upon the whole , the use of Musick among those people , in their publick worship , is onely to *amuse* the *minds* of the *weaker* , and *entertain* the *senses* of the more *delicate* sort : 'Tis a relish hitting , in some proportion , all palates amongst them ; a very considerable part of those Solemnities , which make up one of the most marvellous Holy cheats in the world ; namely , that of a pompous irrational shew , obtruded not only

ly on the more silly Vulgar , but upon men in other things sober and ingenious , in the room of a most divine and spiritual worship (such as was that which Christianity delivered) and by them all , as blindly as resolutely , acquiesced in. It is plain then , here is as notorious an abuse of sacred Musick , as can easily be imagined : for , where as the rule is , that we *sing with understanding* (both of our selves , who sing , and as neer as may be of the hearers) here both singing and musick are designed to make the people digest a worship they understand not ; nay , as would seem , to render that more unintelligible to them , so , as in the end , to put them off contented with a little noise and musick , in stead of a *reasonable* and *spiritual Service*.

This corruption being so gross , if meer indignation did in the beginning transport some Reformers so far , that they contended for the abolishing of all Musick in the worship of God , and bestowed , as above confessed , ill names upon it , this their transport may be excused , from the natural proneness of

of men to overshoot themselves through sudden passion, where the provocation is so great: in the mean while, the like indignation (which some yet conceive against our practice at present) cannot be so excused, because there is not in our practice like cause. Let therefore such, who pretend to be sensible of the excesses of some good mens zeal in other like cases, and would themselves, in this and in all others, be accounted men of sobriety and reason, let them, I say, calmly examine things, and duly consider, before they pronounce. First, it is sure, *Reformation* imports the taking away nothing but corruptions: we are not to destroy all we find practiced, and make all new, but to reduce all into due order according to institution. And secondly, in the doing of this, if we will not incur the just imputation of partiality & unreasonableness, we must be constant to our own reasons; and, as an admirable person advises, whatever measures we take, *provide we contradict not our selves*. I say then, We found singing before the Reformation, as has been

Mr. H.
Thorn-
dike.

confest, abominably abused, and swerving very widely from the institution and ends of it : Now we reformed it, not by taking away all singing (because singing it self was of divine institution) but by applying singing onely to such parts of the publick offices as were proper to be sung , by proportioning it to its true ends , and, to that purpose, reconciling it to the peoples understanding. In like manner, we find *Instrumental musick* in use in the Church before the Reformation, & we have seen it at first to have come in by divine institution, and upon just & reasonable grounds: now, if we will be consistent with our selves, we are to reform this in like sort ; not by a total abolition, or banishing it utterly out of the publick worship, but by accommodating it to due cases, and in proportion to its meet ends of helping the people in the praise of God, and raising in them a more Heavenly temper of mind. Thus, we redress the abuse of it amongst the Papists, as it was onely a publick wheedle, and used for keeping the generality from ever understanding or enquiring

quiring into the matter of the prayets or praises, which they offer; & together we leave it pure (in the condition as ordained by God) an help in, and ornament of the worship of God. It is apparent therefore, that if we understand Reformation and our selves as we ought, or will be just to our own grounds, we must conclude instrumental musick, in the publick worship, to be expedient in the Church Reformed.

It remains now onely, that we enquire whether it be expedient in *Our* Church; which being a *Christian* Church and a *Reformed* Church, nothing can make instrumental musick inexpedient therein, but some unhappy particularity, which if it should fall into the Catholick Church in general, or into any Reformed Church in particular, would there also a like prevail to alter the case. Of such possible occurrences, I can conjecture but two, *publick distress*, or an afflicted state of affairs, and the case of *Scandall* to a considerable number of weak brethren. This I shall speak to anon amongst other objections; at present, therefore,

as to the former onely, I say, Though the common people will be ever querulous, even in the greatest affluence of all things, and a certain vein of men, whom, by reason of their vices or negligence nothing can possibly make rich, alwayes really indigent, though as long as the world stands, and men have different interests and passions, there will be taking parties, and prosecuting animosities, and thence necessarily some totterings and instability of State (all which must be acknowledged at present amongst us) yet this being no more, than what is in a manner every where, and has been in the most flourishing Kingdoms, we must allow, blessed be the God of our wealth and peace, we are very far from being a poor or embroiled Nation; How far unsettled we are, though many talk, I am well assured, not one man of ten thousand can probably define: as it ever was, mens jealousies are greater than their dangers, and their complaints than their sufferings. Those who are sober, humble, and peaceable, find little disturbance, none at all, from any publick

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lick oppressions or violence. Now in such a state of affairs, if we will be Christians, we are to bless God (and that in the most glorious and zealous manner we can) for our present enjoyments and establishment, and we are very unworthy, and a thousand times deserving to lose what we enjoy, if we will not trust God as to what shall come. I would fain have any man of judgment in State-affairs, compare the time of *David's* Kingdom, when he established the goodly Choral service amongst the Jewes, with our present condition (circumstantiated as badly as any malecontents can with truth represent it) and upon due consideration, I doubt not but it will be resolved, We are now a more flourishing people, than at that time were the Jewes. Witness the infinite Structures amongst us, publick and private, our sumptuous furniture, our Tables, our clothes, and not a few mens Coffers, I did not say debaucheries. Let us consider our Neighbours round about us, and we must certainly be false to God and our selves, if we do not acknowledge Gods

singular mercies to us in outward plenty and wealth now for a considerable tract of time. Even those scarcities we have felt (as to what concerns the generality) may vye with the plenty of diverse other Nations. In such a state of things, to esteem that small cost which is bestowed on the worship of God, grievous, is to be highly ungrateful: whatever the charge of our Quires is, the age, God be thanked, may full well bear it. Were the state of the Church such, as when holy Bishops ministered the *Body* of our Lord in *Twiggen baskets*, and his *Blood* in cups of *Wood*; when the walls of their Oratories were *Hurdles*, and the covering *sedges*; or such as in after-ages, when tyranny having enslaved multitudes of the faithful, and all that could be raised by publick charity, not sufficing to redeem them, St. *Ambrose* broke and melted down the Church-plate, to purchase the liberty of the captive Brethren, which St. *Austin* afterwards, in the like case, is said to have imitated, were, I say, this, or any thing neer it, our present state,

some

Spelm.
 Concil.
 in Appar.
 parat.

Ambr.
 Offic. l.
 2. c. 28.
 Possid.
 V. r.
 S. Aug.
 c. 24.

something then might have been pleaded, of the inexpediency or unsuitableness of so costly service. But things being (praised be God) far otherwise, *Alia aliam etatem decent*; if God give us *cieled houses*, 'tis fit the publick places, for his Worship, partake of some proportionable beauty: and if we can maintain musick for civil purposes, it is unreasonable we should judge the expence burdensome in sacred ones; especially when the endowments of very few of our Quires, are much due to the bounty of this age.

From this, which hath been said S. 14. touching the present state of our Church, we are furnished with a due answer to that scornful demand, ordinarily made by way of objection against our Church musick, namely, Where were your Organs and Quires in Christ and in his Apostles dayes? Where in the Primitive age? They were, where the Jewish sacred musick and singers were in the Patriarchs dayes, and in the time of the Egyptian bondage; where they were, during the wandering of the Church, in the wilderness,
or

or its unsettled state, while planting in the land of *Canaan*, silent, and as it were in the womb of their causes, expecting the prosperity and meet condition of the Church, as the funnels of time, to give them birth, and make them speak. We say, the outward modes and circumstances of divine worship, have been ever modelled and altered according to the outward state of the Church: it was so under Judaism, it has been so in the several ages of Christianity, and it is reasonable it should be so at present. And this is the true reason, why instrumental musick so slowly came in to the Church, both Jewish and Christian: at first, the state of neither would admit it. When the Jewish Church arrived at a settled estate, it came in thereunto by Gods appointment: The Christian Church remained longer under persecution, and in an unsettled condition, than the Jewish, and hence it came to pass, that as the Primitive Christians took up onely the most simple way of singing (such as their condition would bear) so the advances to Art were more

more leisurely : and there being never any sensible variations in publick practices , but they find some contradictions and censures (Even St. *Ambrose's* Hymns were censured as a guileful stratagem upon the people) so it must not be denied, but these little gradations of art met with (perhaps more than their) due shares : In the mean time , this must be acknowledged by all , that the Christian Church took up Singing it self (as they did the common grounds of their Religion) from the Jewish, though not as Jewish, but as of divine institution: and being taken up thence, the particular wayes and accomplishments of the Jewish singing, have been imitated or revived under Christianity, by such gradations , as providence has given way and occasion unto. So that the imputation of Novelty here must necessarily cease. Those practices , which having first obtained in the Church in obedience to positive divine laws , have been afterwards discontinued by the fate or necessity of times (and such truly was what we plead for) must not be accounted new, when retrieved.

But the Primitive Church not onely used no instrumental musick in their publick worship, but the Fathers of the purer ages expressly condemn'd it. I do not deny, but some Ancients may have censured it (in my poor judgment, with more severity than they ought) yet not all, not many, that I can find: and those who are vers'd in the Fathers Writings must confess, it is no wonder to find the Fathers divided in their judgments upon points of greater moment than this. Though great Encomiums of Church-singing, and expressions of the wonderful effects even of the very musicalness thereof, may be produced almost infinite out of the Fathers, yet I remember my self to have met with onely four passages, which expressly & particuilarly speak of instruments with relation to this purpose; And I will faithfully set down the sense of each. The first and eldest is of *Clemens of Alexandria*, in the place formerly mentioned. His design there is to shew, what mirth or musick becomes a Christian Table: and after he has banish't thence, as unworthy of Christians,

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Ἀκόλαστοι καὶ κακότητων μακροὶ, all the lascivious
and effeminate musick of the Gentiles

καὶ μάλιστα καὶ τὰς καὶ ῥυθμὸν καὶ τὸν ῥυθμὸν / " and

" the witchcrafts of their broken notes

" and Numbers, by which they drew

" their Guests and selves into intempe-

" rance and vileness; he concludes, at

a Christian Banquet, singing to God

and Christ to be most comely: and

then proceeds to our purpose: Κτ' ὅτι

καὶ τὰς ἰδιότητας ἡ ἀρετὴ ὁδὸς τοῦ καὶ ἁγίου, μὴ μὲν

ὡς ἵσται Ἐβραῖον μὴ ὁδὸν βασιλῆα, ἡ ἀρετὴ τοῦ καὶ ἁγίου

&c. "But if you have a mind to sing

" and play to the Lute or Harp, your

" incur not blame: you shall herein

" imitate the Righteous Hebrew King,

" well-beloved of God [who sung]

" *Rejoice in the Lord ye righteous, praise*

" *is comely for the upright. Praise the*

" *Lord upon the Harp, sing to him with*

" *a Psaltery of ten strings. Sing a new*

" *song unto him.* Let all the world

judge, if this be to condemn a grave and

sober instrumental musick in the praise

of God. The next, of the Antients

(but he of no certain name nor age)

is the *Author* of the *Orthodox Questions and Answers* in the Works of Justin

Quaest. et
Respons. ad
Orthodox.

Martyr. His words are as followes,
 ὅτι ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑθνικῶν ἀνέστη , &c. “ It sin-
 “ ging or Songs were invented by the
 “ Infidels or Heathen world onely for
 “ deceiving delight , and brought in
 “ amongst them under the Law (διὰ
 ἐπιγινώσκοντες) by reason of their being
 “ *children in understanding* , why do we
 “ who have received the perfect rudi-
 “ ments of Grace , far different from
 “ those mentioned manners , use sing-
 “ ing in our Assemblies , according to
 “ them who were children under the
 “ Law ? To which the Answer is , ὅτι
 τὸ πᾶσι ἀπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐστὶν πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀρμόδιον , ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ
 τὰ ἑθνικὰ ἀφύχοντες ὀργάνων καὶ μετὰ ὀρχήσεως καὶ χοροδασείας
 &c. “ Simple singing is not a thing
 “ which is agreeable purely to them ,
 “ who are children , but singing with
 “ senseless instruments , with dancing
 “ and with Timbrels. Wherefore in
 “ our Assemblies , the use of singing
 “ with such instruments , and other
 “ Rites befitting children , is taken
 “ away , and simple singing onely left,
 and then he runs on in a long praise of
 the virtues of Church-singing. Now it
 is considerable , that in this censure ,
 we

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we meet with instrumental musick in company with the Jewish custome of Dancing with jingling or rattling instruments in their hands, which consists not with that gravity and decency, which we both plead for, and practice in our Church-musick; so that it is not simply our practice, but somewhat more, which is here condemn'd, and which we our selves should have condemned, if any where in use in the Christian Church. But it will be said, he condemns instruments in general, as being part of those childish rudiments, and tells us onely, simple singing was then in use. He does so, and speaks herein his own judgment, and as we have confest the practice of those times: Of that practice, the reason we have already seen, and find not our cause at all prejudiced thereby; and of what importance his judgment is, let us now consider: First, the Authour, certainly, was not *Justin* the *Philosopher* and *Martyr*: for, he cites *Origen*, and *Ireneus*, and calls the later of them a *Martyr*; whereas, it is certain by *Ireneus* himself, that *Justin Martyr* was

In ap-
parat.
Sac.
tom. 2.

Critic.
Sac.
li. 2. c. 5.

elder than them both: this is noted by *Possevinus*. He makes mention also of the *Manichees*, a Sect not in being till above one hundred years after *Justin Martyr's* dayes. *Sylburgius*, *Sixtus Senen-fer*, and our Countryman *R. Coke* have much more to the same purpose. Then, as to the credit of this Authour, This was the censure of the learned *Scultetus*, and from him of *Rivet* also, that there occur in that work, *Tot frivola, tot Justinicandore, pietate, doctrina indignissima solutiones, &c.* "So many frivolous answers, most unworthy of the ingenuity, piety and learning of *Justin*, that if any take the paines to compare this, with the writings of the true *Justin*, he must acknowledge he has compared lead with gold. This being their dearly beloved *Rivet's* censure, let the Dissenters make much of the credit done their cause by the authority of that anonymous writer.

In Apo-
theoli
Adver.
Jude.
os.

The third Authour, I mean in order of time, that I have found, is that famous Christian Poet *Aurelius Prudentius*: he being big with love and praise towards our Lord Christ, thus breaks out,

Quic-

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*Quicquid in ære cavo reboans tuba curva
remngit,
Quicquid in areano vomit ingens spiritus
haustu,
Quicquid casta chelys, quicquid testudo
resultat,
Organa disparibus calamis quod consona
mifcent,
Æmula pastorum quod reddunt vocibus
antra,
Christum concebret, Christum sonet,
omnia Christum,
Muta etiam fidibus sanctis animata lo-
quantur.*

What Sacbuts roar, or shriller Trumpets sound,
From their brass lungs fill'd with a mighty blast,
What notes Theorboes, or chaste Lutes rebound,
What cords unequal pipes of Organs cast,
What caves, reflecting shepherds voices round,
Let all speak Christ, all in Christs praise cou-
And let dumb Animals, (bine:
Whose voice to harmony not falls,
Into harmonious strings their hallowed Fibres
(twi c.

He who sung this, thought neither
Wind nor *Stringed* instruments unfit for
the praise of God and Christ.

The last of those passages out of the
ancient

ancient Fathers, which I have met with, expresse to this point, is in St. *Chrysostome*. The authour of the *Apology for the Ejected English Ministers*, cites St. *Chrysostome* on 1 Cor. XIV. as having there taught, that this kind of Musick was to be reckoned amongst the *childish trifles of the Jewish Church*. He did well to cite an authority, of so great credit, so at large, that men that could not spend a day or two to search the Father, and read over all his Homilies on every part of that Chapter, might through despair of finding out what they looked for, neglect to search, and not detect his idling and falsity. That person must have better eyes than I have, & have consulted more than Three Editions of *Chrysostom*, who can find any such thing there. In his commentaries upon the Psalms, if any where, a man might expect something on this subject: and therein on *Psal. CL.* I find this passage, which may a little pleasure the Apologist. Kai ta "Organā d' iustia diē tōto imitōn tōi, diē tōi d' dōmōi d' oūk, kai diē tōi upōi dōmōi iis upōi kai Cymōi, &c. "These instruments were then
 "per-

" permitted [we have seen by the Holy
 " Scripture, they were *commanded*,
 " and that by *God*] " by reason of their
 " weakness, and to mold them into
 " love and agreement, and raise their
 " minds, to do with pleasure those
 " things, which brought them advan-
 " tage; and for that God had a mind
 " to bring them to a great deal of dili-
 " gence by such allurements. For God
 " considering their sordidness, and
 " sloth, and groveling nature, contri-
 " ved by this means to awaken them,
 " mixing with the labour of attendance,
 " the pleasingness of Melody. Against
 this Text of the Father, we have no
 exception to make, but onely what has
 been already insinuated, and for which,
 diverse express Testimonies of Scripture
 have been alledged, namely, that this
 Musick was not meerly *permitted* or *al-*
lowed, but by prescript order *comman-*
ded; and that though the command
 was delivered by *David*, & the contem-
 porary Prophets to the Nation of the
 Jewes, yet it is obligatory still (at
 least by way of direction to the Gover-
 nours of the Church) in like state of

affairs, through all ages and peoples, because the reasons hereof are not temporary, but likely to last as long as the world: and as to that part, we need only to appeal to the reasons here assigned by the Father. We acknowledge God, in this institution, regarded humane *infirmity*, and designed the *raising* our souls, and making us in love with devotion and diligence therein, nor did we ever pretend otherwise.

And now, what has the appeal to the judgment of the antient Fathers advantaged our adversaries, or lost us? That passage of an uncertain authour, which was most against us, comes not purely home to the point; and besides, his judgment, in the confession of our adversaries, is but very mean, and the writing certainly spurious. That passage of St. *Chrysostome* (as falsely reported, as cited by them) we no further dissent from, than as he manifestly abates the express term of Scripture, otherwise he makes for us. The testimonies on the affirmative side, are most closely pertinent, subject to no ambiguity.

guity, and undoubtedly authentique. Others may add more, but this is sufficient to shew, Primitive antiquity disallowed not our practice, though the state of the Church then admitted it not.

Neither will the state of the Church now admit it (will some say) if you regard spirituals, and the scandal it administers to the *weak multitude*.

To speak freely my sense to this Objection, I cannot but believe there are many persons, who pretend daily to be scandalized, that are not concerned in conscience what they pretend or say, nay, that understand not what scandal means. The pretence of scandal, as it is used, seems to be an Objection, when all others fail, against whatsoever men have a mind to oppugn: when they are driven out of all other shifts, then they have recourse to this plea, 'tis matter of scandal to the weak. Now let us onely in a word, consider what scandal is, and we shall find the pretence of it (though indeed commonly unreasonable in most cases, yet) most vilely unjust in this. It is very
 O o o 2 plain

plain by the Apostles discourse in 1 Cor. VIII, that to administer matter of *scandal* to another, is by our practice to *embolden* or draw in any to do, what by reason of weakness (that is, by being young in the Faith, and not versed in discerning the differences of good and evil) he is not satisfied in his conscience he may do: and by how much the sollicitation to such action is the stronger, by so much the greater is the scandal administered. Now in the present case, besides that it is very unreasonable for a generation of knowing men (as would seem at least) bred up in a Church, which has enjoyed the Gospel, powerfully preached in its purity, for above an hundred years in continuance, besides, I say, that it is very unreasonable for such people, in such circumstances, to pretend scandal and weakness, with what truth can any say, considering the present practice of our Church, that they are scandalized at our Church-musick? That others, whom it is not in their power to restrain, practice it, can be no sin of theirs: and if they judge, that

that the practice of it is a sin in those, who practice it, how are they then scandalized, when their conscience is supposed resolved in the case, that it is a sin, and they have all the liberty they can desire to forbear it, no one going about to impose it on them. Our Cathedrals stand indeed open to those, who will thither resort to that kind of Service, but if any approve not that way, there are Parish-Churches for their free recourse, where the practice is plainer: none are forced to our Quires, nor blamed for not coming to them (if they attend the regular worship of God elsewhere) saving onely such who are of the body of them; and even they had their choice, whether they would have taken upon them those places, to which such an obligation is appendant. Whereby it is evident, that those who pretend the consciences of men with us, to be burdened, amongst other spiritual oppressions, by Organical musick, and singing prayers, seek onely to draw an unjust *Odium* upon our Church, and discover their own complaints not to be without malice:

That the world might think they have reason for their secession and clamours, they cry out of the pressure of injunctions, which are not in being.

But it will be said, still there is the *power of Example* to induce men into this suspicious practice, and the influence of great mens example upon inferiours being considered, this is scandal forscible enough. I *deny* the practice to be *suspicious*: We avow it to be *good*, and neither doubt of it, nor of the sufficiency of our arguments to approve it to all unprejudiced persons; and therefore we practice accordingly with full satisfaction of mind. The *dissenters* from our Church generally presume it to be *evil*, and if they have reasons, which satisfy their consciences therein, to them it is so; and accordingly they forbear it, and we censure them not for so doing: let them in like manner not censure us for the practice of what, in the fear of God and sincerely in our consciences, we allow, and reap benefit by. If in the mean while, there be any persons of an amphibious condition, who doubt
whe

whether the practice in contest be good as we say, or evil as they say, as these can be but very few (and therefore the pretence touching the *multitude* falls) so, if any of those do practice without full perswasion of Faith, let all judge who gives the scandal, *We*, who avow our own practice, and, though we are assured we can justifie it before God and men, yet leave those who are unsatisfied to their liberty in this regard, requiring onely, that as they are not censured by us for the use of their liberty, so neither that they censure others; Or *They*, who scruple, wrangle, disseminate all the doubts they can, seek for knots in bulrushes, amuse their own minds and others, and when they have done, will neither quietly use their own liberty, nor be contented we enjoy ours. It is the resolution of a good Casuist of their own, touching a *scrupulous conscience*, that is, a conscience, which though it doubts, yet rather inclines to one side than the other, " That, first, endeavour be used, by a just examination of the matter in question, to remove the

Ames
de con-
f. l. 1. 5
c. 7.

“the scruple: If that cannot be so effe-
 “cted, to lay the scruple aside, and
 “banish it our thoughts; but if still it
 “be troublesome to over-rule it, and
 “act contrary to it. For (saith he) a
 “*Scruple* being an *unreasonable fear*,
 “and without due foundation, can-
 “not oblige; nay, nay, by customa-
 “ry acting against such scrup'es, con-
 “science becomes the stronger, and
 “more quiet. Let them now act ac-
 cording to their own doctrine, or ac-
 cording to ours, and teach that others
 do so, and there will be satisfaction of
 conscience, and no sin in that behalf:
 but if they will do neither, but still
 perpetuate scruples, and pretences of
 scandal, we appeal to God and Angels,
 'tis not we, but they that are guilty
 of the scandal, if any really be; and
 not of scandal onely, but of unrea-
 sonableness, inquietude and confusion in
 the Church of God: and so farewell
 scandal.

All, that I judge material by way
 of objection yet unanswered, is, what
 haply some may speak with truth and
 candour, as they conceive, from their

own experience; namely, That whereas we pretend this kind of Musick and Singing, to be an help of devotion, they for their part find it clean contrary. Possibly they will tell us, they censure not those who use it, nor load the practice with ignominious names, nor regard much any other arguments against it, but this their own sense, out of which they cannot suffer themselves to be argued: They cannot believe it fit for Christian worship, because they are conscious, that it consists not with the peoples understanding (which yet is required, as we have said in the Apostolical rule) and therefore if it do beget any good affection) as we pretend (such good affection must be onely some slight and confused passion of the more sensitive part, and short infinitely of that rational devotion, or those distinct acts of Faith, love and gratitude, which are exerted by holy men in the paying such a Worship, each passage of which is understood: and besides, there are very few, if any, of the common people that can join herein, so that such service can-

not be the common act of the Congregation, but is limited onely to those of the Quire, most of whom also are concerned meerly as to the Notes and Musick, little, or seldom attending the sense, and engaging their souls Godwards, as is necessary.

Now, as to this objection, I confess in good earnest, I look not upon it as a pretence or cavil in those who make it, but as their real thoughts: & as to the whole sober and serious part of those, who dissent from our Cathedral Service, I really believe, some such misprision, as this, is summarily the ground of their averfeness. Before, therefore, I come to the particulars, supposed to be matter of experience or spiritual sense, I shall humbly request such persons, that they will do themselves and me, and above all, the cause of Truth, so much justice, as with me a little to reflect, modestly and impartially, upon this their experience in the gross. First, when they came to make tryal (if ever they did) whether they could in a spiritual sort worship God in the Choral way, did they not come
pre=

prejudiced against the Liturgy it self, against our Vestments and Ceremonies, as well as against the Musick? Having been bred up in time of a general desuetude of such things, and seasoned with ill opinions of them, were they not surpris'd with variety of passions and concerns, partly at the Novelty (as to themselves) partly at the ungratefulness of sundry occurrences? And if so, then Secondly, How can they look upon themselves, when under such little disturbances, to have been capable of making a fair and candid judgment or tryal? They were not haply, so far acquainted with the very Text of the Liturgy, as to understand the reasons and particular excellencies thereof, had it been officiated in the plainest way: how then can they justly lay the blame of their not understanding, of their want of due affection and consent, upon the sole Musick, when it is plain, they wanted such prerequisite information, as might capacitate them for such devotion; and besides, their minds, being not void of disorder, could not calmly attend,

much less understand, consider, and dispose themselves to consent. It may be very true upon the whole, in stead of devotion, they were under some confusion, and forfeited that composedness of mind which is necessary for the meet Worship of God: but possibly it is not true, that the Musick alone was the occasion of it; and they would have found it far otherwise, had they been acquainted with the service before hand, as our people generally are (which is but a part of due preparation) or had they not suffered by those other prejudices and disturbances, that arose from thence. Persons not well informed, or discomposed, are very unmeet Judges. These men therefore, whose experience is so contrary to that of other sober persons in the same case, (and possibly, to the general nature of mankind) have all the reason in the world to suspect this their experience: and though they may esteem it to be a kind of spiritual sense, yet perhaps it is but some peculiar complication of passions incident unto them, by reason of those unhap-

py circumstances they are or were under: And then, the judgment framed here upon must needs be as fallacious, as its grounds. Wherefore, if they will reasonably and justly urge this argument, it behooves them first, to inform themselves of the particulars of our Service, and satisfy themselves touching the innocency of those small ceremonies in use amongst us, that they may not be surpris'd by the strangeness of either to them; then, to lay aside all manner of prejudice, which the fate of their education may have instilled into them; and being thus qualified, lastly, to make some second and better tryals, wherein they may be able to avow their impartiality.

And that then the success may be otherwise, will be evident by the examination of the presumed particulars of their experience; of which the first is, that our Musick and singing consists not with the generalities understanding. Whereto, I say, our Quires may be better understood, as to what they sing, than any Parochial assembly in their common and mixt singing. The

blending of so many different and irregular voices, their drawlings and affected tones, much more confound the words, than does our regular course. Witness our daily experience in the case: I forbear particular instances, how little our Congregations are understood in their singing (nay, how little many times they themselves understand, as to the greater part of them) because such instances might be odious. But that our Quires may, with great facility, be understood, if people will not be notoriously wanting to themselves, is manifest; First, for that as to the main, touching all that is commonly sung, it is known before hand, that it will be sung such a day, and such a part of the day: The general Hymns, Responds, &c. our people have without book: The Psalms for the day, or season, all that have Books can turn to, and most join with the Quire: Those that have not, or cannot use them, may stand as neer some of the plain distinct voices of the Singers, or of some of the people who sing plainly, as they can, and by this means

means understand all, and join, as to their minds, in the address. All the difficulty is in the Anthems, because these vary: but it is known first, that each Church has particular Books of its particular Anthems, which are dispersed amongst the people with intimation, which is the Anthem to be sung at that time. Then, that most Anthems being taken out of the Psalms, all who have Prayer-books are furnished with copies of them. Besides, that frequent use makes the particular Anthems known in each Church, so that our very people can repeat most of them. Lastly, there is the same advantage in this case, as before said touching the Psalms, of some distinct clear voices, which may be understood every syllable by any, who attend to them. And indeed, our present graceful way of singing comes so neer distinct pronunciation, that there is not so much difficulty in understanding all, word for word, as is pretended, especially to those who are the least used to it. So that I may confidently averr, such who without prejudice attend, may easily

understand, what is sung in our Quires, if they are not negligent, or, in a sort, stupid.

And the understanding being the great passage of all into the rational soul, this first imputation of our Musicks rendring what is sung unintelligible, being proved thus manifestly injurious, the other, for the main fall of themselves. For, as to the second, what shall hinder our Singings operating to as distinct and plenary devotion as may be, if all, that is sung, is, or (if people prove not grossly negligent) may be most distinctly understood, and with much more certainty & ease, than in the Parochial way? if my understanding can frame distinct notions, my will certainly may exert as distinct desires or vows.

And therefore Thirdly, if by the peoples joining with the Quire, in the praises or petitions they sing, be meant the peoples consent, it is plain by what we have now said, that this is no wise hindered. But if thereby be meant, the conjunction of their voices to those of the Quire, as this is not always necessary, so neither is it in far
the

the greatest part of what is sung precluded. There are few, if any of our people, who are the least used to Cathedral Service, but can, and do sing with the Quire the plain Tones of the Psalms; in which too very often, we sing our most usual Hymns, the *Te Deum*, *Magnificat*, and the rest. The same I must say of the Responds, when (as most commonly) plainly sung. Nay, even in the very *Chorus's* of our Anthems, as many as can sing musically may, and in the Versicles; or any other part of the Service, if any can, not or may not vocally join, it is sufficient, that the consent of their hearts distinctly go along with the voices of those who sing. We are certain in the antient Christian Church, the people generally sing onely some ^{Angelicall} or closes of Verses; & this was taken undoubtedly from the like practice of the Jewes, of which we have some foot-steps in *Chron.V.*, &c. where we find the words, at which the generality struck in, are said to have been, *For he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever*; and yet it was at this close, that *the glory of the Lord filled*

*Constitut:
Apostolic:
Lib. 2. cap. 57.*

led the house. Notwithstanding it is plain by what we have said, much more is allowed, and daily practised by the people amongst us.

But will some say, I cannot keep my mind attent to the things, except distinctly I use the words, which it is granted I may not (at least alwayes) in the Quire. I answer, that is a mistake, you may as well distinctly attend to the things signified by words, when those words are uttered by another, as when they are uttered by your selves. But if the exercise of the Organs of speech be to any alwayes so necessary, there may be a kind of low whispering singing, as well as there is such a speaking, which many use after the Minister in the publick Prayers, and which will spoil no Harmony, yet sufficiently exercise your private self. It is sure God understands this, and those who find it necessary may use such still voice, when they cannot, without disturbance of others, sing more audibly.

Upon the whole, I profess I see no disadvantage to devotion, which can be

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be imputed to our Choral way, used as it ought to be, or may be, and I hope generally is. But if any do find it, to put them under any such disadvantage, as they ought to impute this to a certain *Idiosyncrasy* or particular temper of their own, so they may safely, and, as aforesaid, without censure from us frequent onely the plainer way. We take what we find best for us, and so let them do.

Having thus answered all the objections I could meet with or frame, which I could judge of moment, against our Church-musick, I might here have ended this Discourse: for I may seem much to have anticipated my self, as to the last Head proposed in the beginning (the spiritual advantage to be made by our present way of singing) having evinced the conducency of our practice to the most spiritual or Evangelical Worship, the worshipping God with most affectionate adhesion of soul. But I have above insinuated, that even in our Choral use, there are some things obnoxious to censure, and which, I conceive, might be better ordered, or

Sec. 15.

contrived: and much more in the common Parochial way. Besides, the freedom and ingenuity I have all along professed, may seem to require, that I proceed a little more openly and distinctly on the fifth propounded Question; which therefore I shall do. And let no man think I will spare any thing, which in conscience I judge justly challengeable. I hope ever to approve myself equally an enemy to Faction and Flattery; and that none shall be aggrieved, either with my partiality on one hand, or the confessions which I shall make, and the amendments, which I shall desire, on the other.

CHAP. IV

How the present waies of Singing in our Church, may be managed to the most spiritual advantage of all sorts.

Sect. I. *A more express process to the last Head of this Discourse. No alteration*

ration of Laws necessary to redress what may be presumed amiss in the Choraluse. Sect. 2. A brief view of the old Jewish Quire, their Number of Members, their office, kinds of Musick, and sorts of Song. Sect. 3. Of the constitution and present state of our Quires. Sect. 4. An account of the Particulars most obnoxious to censure in the Choral use. Sect. 5. The grand Original hereof, want of Learning and due institution in the Quire: men or Church-Musicians. Sect. 6. The necessity and facility of redressing such want. Sect. 7. Of further remedies necessary. An humble supplication to the superiour Clergy, who shall condescend to read this Discourse, that they will please to resume respectively, and exercise their rightful powers in appointing the Daily Services and Anthems. Sect. 8. What may, without alteration or breach of Laws, be done in reforming the Parochial singing. Sect. 9. An humble address to the Parochial Clergy, to endeavour, as far as may be, such Reformation. Sect. 10. The Conclusion, by way of submission of all to the judge.

ment of the Church, and earnest exhortation to all Quires, to be of Gods mind, in preferring Devotion to Art.

Ser: 1.

I Have already said, I do not conceive myself yet discharged as to the last Head of this Discourse. My business therefore now is to enquire, more distinctly, how we may manage our present singing, in all our sacred Assemblies, to the most spiritual advantage: for it is sure, God is then most truly praised, when our hearts are most enlarged and drawn forth toward him. Now, to this purpose, the point of main concernment is, How we may redress whatever may be conceived amiss, or at least improveable, in our respective practices. Whatever those particulars are in our Choral way, I do not conceive any of them to be of such nature or importance, as require any alteration of Publick Laws. As to the particular statutes of some Churches, I cannot tell what may be said: I must necessarily leave the judgment of them to such, who are particularly concerned and conversant therein, being myself but

acquainted but in very few. It is, in effect, acknowledged by the Canon-Lawyers, that the different customs of several Churches, render it a matter very difficult generally to define, what belongs to the Office of each Dignitary in the Quire. Yet, supposing any tolerable concord for the main, betwixt the customs or statutes of particular Churches, several Dignitaries or persons must, by their Office, be invested with a power sufficient for what inspection or correction we shall desire; and so, neither here will there need any change of Laws, if the persons empowered will be faithful to their Office. And truly the change, as to matter of practice, will be so easie, as that it cannot possibly make any noise wheresoever introduced: so that upon the whole, none concerned need to fear the danger of making such change, who shall be convinced, that the practice we shall propose (being supposed a Point settled by no Law, and therefore arbitrary and changeable) is better, and more conducing to spiritual Worship, than that which is in use already.

Gloss:
ad
Decr.
Greg
l; 1.
Tit: 25.
Ver:
Donet
Lecti-
ones.

ready. Now, before I come to particulars, that I may not seem to have neglected any general, which may give light into the case in hand, I shall premise a brief View of the Old Jewish Quire, and then consider the common state of ours; both which having in our eye, and together regarding the Apostolicall rules before laid down, we may hope, what we shall conclude may escape the censure of being Rash, though haply not of being Insufficient.

Sec 2.

The old Jewish Quire is, as above-said, that *Divine Originall*, whence first we derive, and which, with such *variations* as the *Evangelicall Oeconomy*, the present *Age, People* and *State* of affaires do require, we pretend to transcribe: of this therefore it is necessary we take some view. And certainly it was not without some considerable design of providence, that an account hereof is set down so particularly in holy writt, especially in the *Chronicles* and in the *Titles* of the *Psalms*.

First, as to the Number of the Quiremen; it was exceeding great, as well it might be in a nation, wherein there was

to

but one Quire, and yet, accounting from Thirty yeares old to fifty (for such was the first Order touching the Enrolling the Levites for service of the Tabernacle *Numb: IV. 2.*) there were no lesse than thirty eight thousand able persons, fit for one Ministry or other about the Tabernacle, when *David* first modell'd the Jewish Quire, *1 Chron: XXIII. 3.* Notwithstanding *By the last words of David the Levites were to be numbred from twenty yeares old (ver: 27.)* which must needs considerably enhance their number. Of this vast multitude of the Levites onely Four thousand were sett apart to praise God with the instruments, which *David* had made (*ver: 5*) that is for the service of God Quire-wise. But it would seem, onely Two hundred eighty eight, and those by twelve in a course, used to be in ordinary attendances so many being usually chose out of the rest, as they were best *Instructed in the Songs of the Lord, and cunning or skillfull at their Instruments: (Ch: XXV. 7.)* the rest being probably as a seminary, whence vacancies, as they fell, or, at greater solemnities, extraordinary num-

De

Rep.

Heb1:

1: 2. c. 7.

bers, might be supplied. Now supposing, as *P. Cunnans* amongst others accounts, that after the hundred sixty-eighth day each courses turn came again in order, then every twelve attended their week, and at the weekes end were relieved by another twelve. Only each twelve being to have their *מנצח* a *Chief Musician* or *Præcentor*, and there being but three of these chosen by joint consent out of all the Levites, according to the number of the chief families of the Tribe, namely, *Heman*, *Asaph*, and *Ethan* (Ch. XV. 17.) who is also ordinarily called *Jeduthun*, the attendance of these three, or of their *Deputies* or *Vicars*, (for such we may suppose those *Secundaries*, or *Brethren of the second degree*, next to *Heman* and the rest, to have been, *ver. 18.*) the attendance of these, I say, must needs have had more frequent returns.

Now to collect in brief the particulars of their duty in their *Ordinary attendance*. The Quire of Twelve, with their *Præcentor* in the head of them (whose Office it was, as the *Principal to begin the thanksgiving*, Neh. XI. 17.)

were

were to stand every morning to thank and to praise the Lord, and likewise at Even, 1 Chron. XXIII. 30. This was (as we may conclude from what is recorded of the solemn sacrifices offered by *Hezekiah*) at the time of the continual burnt-offering, Morning and Evening; For thus we read 2 Chr. XXIX. 27, 28. *And when the burnt-offering begun, the song of the Lord began also, with the instruments ordained by David King of Israel — And this continued until the burnt-offering was finished.* The same also seems intimated, though not in such express terms, 1 Chron. XXIII. 30, 31. And thus much is generally held by the learned, that since the dayes of *David*, the publick sacrifices of the Congregation, which they offered as in strict duty bound, were never presented without solemn Hymns sung by the Quire, according to the Ordinance of *David*. These Hymns, or this the song of the Lord, as above named, we may conclude to have been most frequently some of those four Psalms, wherein occurs that solemn laudatory form. *For he is good, for his mercy endureth for*
R r r 2 ever,

ever. 2 Chron. V. 13. and VII. 6. Ezra III. 41. &c. Namely, the CVI, the CVII, the CVIII, or the CXXXVI Psalm: But not solely these; for none of these Psalms is intituled to *Asaph*, yet *Hezekiah the King*, and *the Princes*, commanded the Levites to sing praise unto the Lord in the words of David and *Asaph the seer*, 2 Chron. XXIX. 30. And what Hymn they should sing at such or such time, if it came not particularly in course for the day, most probably their *Præceptor* did appoint at his discretion; for this, diverse learned men conceive to be the import of *Asaph's*, *Heman's*, and *Jeduthun's* being to prophesie with harps, *Prescribant prophetias quas canerent*, "They prescribed the prophetick Hymns which the Levites sung. Now at the time of this their officiating, the Quire station was at the *East end of the Altar*, 2 Chr. V. 12. on a Stage, or kind of Gallery, made for that purpose, as *Maimonides* tells us. But though we have said there were only twelve required to attend at a time (ten of whom, as *Isidorus* saith, on what ground I know not) made

Vatabl.
Bertr
de.
Rep:
1. c.
15. &c.

De
Eccle:
Offic.
1. 1. c. 3.

made up a Quire) yet others, whose course then it was not, might attend if they pleased: and those that did not, we may conceive employed, either upon new composures, (as is plain by the titles of the Psalms, directed for this purpose some to *Asaph*, some to *Heman*, some to *Jeduthun*, the three great *Magistri Symphonie*, and others to *The sons of Korah*, who were also excellent Composers, but the three first undoubtedly inspired for Musical composition) or else in teaching or practising such Compositions. Thus, when *Asaph* and his brethren were chosen chief Musicians, *Chenaniah* was made chief *Master of the Song*, 1 Chron. XV. 29. *Chenaniah chief of the Levites was for Song: he instructed about Song, because he was skilful.* And it would seem to every course or Ward, there was such an instructor: for, at the first regulating of the Quire, *They cast lots, ward against ward, as well the Teacher, as the Scholar*, 1 Chr. XXV. 8. So that we need not fear to say, they had singing Schools, and their singing was very artificial.

Such was their ordinary attendance

and employment. On extraordinary seasons and festivals, the solemnity was onely greater, and the Quire fuller: And besides the Quire, there were certain Priests which sounded with Trumpets, but these, I conceive, distinct from the Quire, 2 Chron. XX. 26. and to sound usually before the Song of the Lord begun, 2 Chron. VII. 6. *The Priests sounded the Trumpet before them, and all the people stood.* The design of the Trumpets was, as above proved, to notifie the sacrifice to the people, and therefore it may reasonably be presumed, the sounding of them did not commonly interfeer with the Song (which begun, saith *Maimonides*, at the time of the Wine, that is, the *Drink-offerings* being poured out) but prepare the people for attention. I do not deny, but that upon some extraordinary solemnities, such as was the dedication of the Temple, the Trumpetters and Singers were as one, to make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking the Lord: (2 Chron. V. 13.) but neither was this at the time of sacrifice, for the sacrifice came^a along time after,

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after, Chap. VII. nor was this the ordinary sound or tune of the Trumpets, nor possibly were these the usual trumpets of the Sanctuary, made by Gods command all of one piece (for, of them there were by Gods command but two, whereas of these there were one hundred and twenty) but other more musical ones, fitted for consort by King *David*, the great inventor of Musical instruments for holy use. Further, I do not conceive the Priests to have sounded constantly at the continual burnt-offerings every day (which yet were constantly attended as before-said, with the service of the Quire) but onely upon their Festivals and solemn days; because the letter of the Law, touching the institution of the trumpets limits the use of them (as to the point of sacrifice) meerly to those, *Num.* X. 10. On these also, especially on the three great Festivals, even all the Priests, or, as many as would, might attend: onely those, whose course it was, were to minister about the sacrifices, the rest being imploied either in sounding a greater multitude of Trumpets, or,

P. Cun.
de Rep.
Heber.
l. 2. c. 7.

pro

proving auxiliaries to their brethren attending in course, if overburdened by the number of Free-will-offerings. And upon such times, saith the learned *Bertram*, "All the three chief mu-

De
Ref:
Iud.

c. 15.

"sicians (and therefore, undoubtedly, a greater number of the Singers respectively under them) "were to appear, *Asaph* being to assist *Heman* on the right hand, and *Ethan* or *Jeduthun* to assist him on the left, and all to join in the song of the Lord. This, I presume, may be concluded in a great measure from 1 *Chron.* VI. 33, 39, 44. and 2 *Chron.* V. 11, 12. compared.

Now, as to the Musical instruments, which they used in this their ministry, they were ordinarily *Cymbals*, *Psalteries* and *Harps*; for of these we have most frequent mention, in all Texts recording either the *constitution*, *ministry* or *restoration* of the Jewish Quire. As to the first, it is said *David spake to the chief of the Levites, to appoint their brethren to be singers, with instruments of Musick, Psalteries, and Harps, and Cymbals*, 1 *Chren.* XV. 16. And of the Persons thus chosen, & their sons, when
esta-

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established by Royal authority, we read *They were separated for the Service, to prophesie with Harps, with Psalteries, and with Cymbals, 1 Chron. XXV. 1.* In the Records of their Ministration, though upon extraordinary occasion, we have mention for the main onely of the same instruments, with the addition of an *hundred and twenty Trumpets, 2 Cbr. V. 12* And when restored by *Hezekiah*, it is said, *Hezekiah set the Levites in the House of the Lord, with Cymbals, and with Psalteries, and with Harps, 2 Cbr. XXIX. 25.* So also in the dayes of *Nebemiah* and *Ezra*, *Neb. XII. 37.* Now these three sorts of instruments, if I mistake not my self, are of as different kinds as can be made. I find no ampler, nor can I conceive a more adæquate division of Musical instruments, than into *ἑγχέρδια, ἑμπεριόμυα, & κρούμυα*, *stringed instruments, wind instruments, and pulsatil or ringing ones.* (That of *mobilia* and *immobilia* is frivolous) And touching the *Harp*, that it was a *stringed instrument*, there is no question; though of what fashion *David's Harp* was, at so great a distance of time, and

Mer-
sen. de
instru.
Harm.
l. 1. ad
Prop. 1.

after so great loss of the Jewish Learning, we must, I think, be content to be ignorant: the most material point which I find of it, is, what *Josephus* tells us, that it had *ten strings*, and was *plaid* on with a *quill*. That what we render a *Psaltery* (כנור, I mean in the Original) was a *Wind-instrument*, I cannot much scruple. All agree it was an instrument like a *Bottle* (for כנור also signifies a *Bottle*, and is so used in diverse places of Scripture) and the reason Etymologists give of the name, is, because it was apt to be filled with wind, as a *Bottle* with liquor. — *Adjunguntur etiam fistulae perforatae, aut calami perforati, e quibus egreditur dulcis sonus.* “To this *Bottle* were joined several Pipes, with many holes, out of which comes a sweet sound. At this rate, it must have somewhat resembled a *Bag-pipe*. The learned *Buxtorf* alleges the authority of *Aben Ezra*, asserting that the *Psaltery* had in it *Ten* holes; though *Josephus* tells us, it had *twelve* sounds or notes, and was *struck* or *plaid* upon with the *fingers*. This, possibly, may import no more,

Antiq.
Judaic.
l. 7. c.
10.

Pag-
nin ..in
Thes.
ling. S.
ad vo-
cem.

Lexic.
Rab-
bin.

ubi su-
pra.

more, than the stopping the holes diversly with the fingers, in order to variation of Notes. However, in the Hebrew Glossary *Aruch* אֲרֻךְ is expressly interpreted, an instrument in form of a Bottle, *on which they make musick by blowing*. I may not dissemble, but that I have met with considerable authorities to the contrary, asserting it to have been a stringed instrument; the chief whereof is the Translation of the *Greek Septuagint*, who three times translate, *ἑξάκις διατεταμένον, with a Psaltery of ten strings*. But let us here consult the Original: In one of the places, which they thus render, namely, in *Psal. XCII. 4*, *The ten-stringed instrument*, if we must so read (which then according to *Josephus*, seems to have been the Harp) and the *Psaltery*, are expressly distinguished by a copulative וְעַל-נָבִיל *Upon an instrument of reas* [possibly notes or sounds, as probably as strings] *and upon the Psaltery*: which distinction makes it more reasonable to take נָבִיל & עֶשְׂרִי in those two other places, *Psal. XXXIII. 2*, & *CXLIV. 9*. for two distinct in-

S f f 2

instru=

struments (according as the Interlineary of *Arias Montanus*, as also *Tremellius*, and our *English Version* read) than for one and the same: The omission of a copulative is no infrequent thing in any Language I know. Besides, as is already intimated, though פסל should be an Epithet of נבל (which in my opinion is not so reasonable, I am sure not necessary) yet it will not infer the *Psaltery* to have had strings, it being equally applicable to sounds as well as strings. So that it is not concludible from Scripture, that the *Psaltery* was a *stringed instrument*. Again, Mr. *Ainsworth* (a very learned person in his way) reports from authorities, which I have not opportunity to search, that the *Psaltery had strings, and they plaid thereon*. This being onely his Version, and not knowing what the words are which he renders *had strings*, and they *played*, nor consequently what the ambiguities thereof are, I cannot build much hereon: whether it had strings or no, 'tis sure they *played* on it. But however, the excellent *Buxtorf* helps us here again, who produces *Kimchi* up-

Of Mus.
sick in
the
Tem-
ple.
At the
end of
his
Notes
on the
Ps.

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on *Isai.* informing us that there were *Two sorts of Psalteries*, some *with strings*, others *without*, and yet both came under the name פסלטר *Psaltery*. And that, there might be two sorts, is not improbable; for, after the *Psalteries* made and introduced by *David*, of the form of which we have already spoke, there were others made of *Algum wood* by *King Solomon*, and *there were none such seen before in the Land*, *1 Chron. IX. II.*

Now that which induces me to this opinion, that the *Psaltery* was a wind-instrument (besides the multitude of authorities, diverse of which I have produced, and could add more, were it not tedious) is, **First**, The *Etymon* of the word, by which it properly signifies a *Bottle made of dry or dressed leather*; and, that they should make a *stringed* instrument of such *form* or *materials*, seems to me very improbable. Secondly, the natural probability of the thing, it tending more (*ad complementum Musices*) to the perfection of Musick, and of the *Quires* performances in that kind, that these three instruments should be of

three distinct kinds, than that two of them should be of one, and the third of another, when (possibly) of the noblest kind of instruments (for such do I conceive wind-instruments to be) according to the contrary *Hypothesis* there must not be one. Thirdly, the authority of *Josephus* designing (as it may seem) to prevent, or favourably decide the controversie, who having told us the *Harp had ten strings*, adds presently the *Psaltery had twelve sounds*. What precisely he meant thereby, we may be ignorant, but in the general, we cannot conceive he would have changed his terms, had the instruments he spoke of, been both of the same kind. I will set down his words, because none may suspect me of design, or wilful partiality: they are these;
 Ἡ μὲν Κιθάρη δέκα χορδαῖς ἐξομμένη τυπίζεται ἀλάκρῃ·
 ἡ δὲ ψάλμα δώδεκα εὐθυσθεῖ ἰχυσσι, τοῖς δακτύλοις κρούεται· Let each abound in, and enjoy his own sense.

That *Cymbals* were a *Pulsatil* instrument, there is no question, though the form of them be not certain: *Quænam fuerint Hebræorum Cymbala vix est*
 nt

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ut quisquam scire possit, is Mersennus's I. 4. ad
 censure. As to their materials, we are prop.
 sure from Scripture, that they were 16.
 made of brass, 1 Chron. XV. 19. and in
 other places. And it is observable,
 that we have no Hebrew name signify-
 ing a Cymbal in the Old Testament, of
 a singular form. There are indeed two
 names for them, one in a Dual form,
 מצלצל the other in a Plural צלצלים
 (both from the same root צלצל Tinnire,
 Palpitare, Hab. III. 16.) which shew
 us, by their Etymon, that Cymbals
 were a kind of ringing instruments, and
 by their Grammatical form, that they
 were used (at least) onely by pairs.
 And answerable are the suffrages of the
 Rabbies, Erant duo instrumenta area,
 quæ se invicem collidentia sonum redde-
 bant: "Cymbals were two instruments
 "of brass, which being struck one
 "against another, made a Musical
 "sound; and (as we shall see present-
 ly) a very lowd one.

These notions, or descriptions of
 their instruments in ordinary, come
 the neerest truth, to my poor sense,
 of any that I have had advantage to col-
 lect;

R. Da-
 vid a-
 pud
 Pagn.
 in Thes.
 Ling. S.
 ad voc.
 Vid. &
 alios
 ibid.

lect; and admitting them for truth, it must be concluded, that of old, they praised God daily in the Temple, with instruments of the greatest variety imaginable.

R. Sa-
lomon
apud
Buxt.

But let the *Psaltery* have been a *Wind-instrument*, or a *stringed-instrument*, or some more artificial conjuncture of both in one (which possibly he meant, who said it took its name from כנן *stultus*, and gave the reason, *quia stultescere facit omnia instrumenta Musica*) it matters not much, for it is sure, that (especially on Festivals and greater solemnities) they used other instruments, besides the three above named, and such, which undoubtedly were *wind-instruments*. Not to say any more of the hundred and twenty Trumpets, such was undoubtedly the *Cornet*, 2 *Chron.* XV. 14. *Psal.* XCVIII. 6, &c. which is the most proper rendering of שופר and possibly was meant by קרן too 1 *Chron.* XXV, 5. Such also the *Flute* or *Pipe*, מחר מחר *Psal.* GXLIX, 3. & GL, 4. & חליל *Isa.* XXX, 29. both from חלל *Hollow*, and, as our *Masters* teach us, made of *fine wood* or *Cane*.
Such,

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Such, lastly, the *Organ*, or *Metal-pipe* עוגב *Gen. IV. 21. & Ps. CL. 4.* and possibly some others.

And if *Cymbals* should be suspected not to have been *Pulsatil* instruments, the *Timbrel* or *Tabret*, as תוף is indifferently rendred, *1 Sam. X. 5. Ps. CL. 4.* and many other places, can be imagined no other. The same, I conceive too, is to be said touching the מנענעי which (I suppose, for want of a fitter word) our Translators rendred *cornets*, *2 Sam. VI. 5.* but perhaps signifies nothing like them. The *Septuagint* rendred it *Cymbals* (and liker *Cymbals* certainly were those instruments, than are *cornets*): *St. Jerome*, and from him *Tremellius*, more properly *Sistra*. The word truly signifies *commoventia*, as *Arias Montanus* renders it: and if we will hear the sense of our Hebrew Masters, these instruments were thus named, *Quòd homo dum illa pulsat, agitet corpus & saltet*: “ because “ he who beats them, much stirs his “ body, and, as it were, leaps in “ beating. They would seem a certain kind of Kett'le-drums. For, whereas

R. D. v.
apud
Pagn.
in T. cl.

Vid:
 Serv. in
 Virgil.
 Æn. 8.
 prope
 fin. &
 Rader.
 in Mart.
 l. 14.
 Ep. 50.

some Grammarians have rendred *Sistrum* an instrument like an Horn, the mistake is intolerable: it was an instrument made, *è metallo arguto*, of the most ringing metal, and used first by the *Egyptians* in the worship of their God *Isis*, named *Zuisey* from *Cris*, because being struck and tost, it made a shrill sound; and was after used in war instead of a Trumpet:

—*patrio vocat agmina Sistro*. Virg.
 More instruments of this nature possibly they might have: as also of מנצח *Ps. CL, 4.* which I am contented to take for *stringed* instruments, though the Rabbies are not yet agreed what its import is. In *1 Sam. XVIII, 6.* we read of מנצח, most probably instruments of *three strings*. It is also usually conceived, that they had instruments of *eight strings*, though I find yet no authority for it in Scripture, having reason otherwise to interpret, *1 Chron. XV. 21.* and the title of *Ps. VI.* And of the Harps being a *ten-stringed* instrument, we have already spoken.

Of the number of these instruments imployed at one time, I find nothing more

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more exact; than what Mr. *Ainsworth* reports out of *Maimonides*, and the *Babylonish Targum*. "There might not be
 "fewer than two *Psalteries*, nor more
 "than six; nor fewer than two *pipes* or
 "*flutes*, nor more than twelve; nor
 "fewer than two trumpets [namely,
 when any of the more *musical trumpets*
 were mixt with the other instruments]
 "nor more than an hundred and twen-
 "ty (as many as there was at the de-
 "dication of the Temple) nor fewer
 "than nine Harps, but as many as they
 "would, and one *Cymbal* only [that
 is one pair, as aforesaid] "In all the
 "days of the solemn Feasts, and at
 "the New moons, there were Priests
 "blowing with trumpets at the hour
 "of the sacrifice [these were those
 trumpets of the Sanctuary, *Numb. X.*]
 "—Twelve daies in the year they play-
 "ed on the Pipe or Flute before the
 "altar, viz. at the killing of the first
 "Passeeover, and in the first good day
 "of the Passeeover, and in the first
 "good day of Pentecost, and in the
 "eight days of the Feast of the Taber-
 "nacles. This great number of instru-

ments, I conceive, is to be understood, to have been used only on more solemn occasions; Otherwise there needed more than a Quire of twelve, for the meer instrumental performance, the least *Quorum* that could be for that purpose, being, according to this reckoning, sixteen.

What their variety of tuning was, it cannot be presumed, but we must be deeply ignorant, seeing we have little or no knowledge of their melody. Such singing as I have heard from the modern Jewes, in their devotions, seems to me very barbarous, and infinitely short of what is in ordinary practice amongst us: but it may justly be conceived to bear such proportion to the old Musick in Temple, as their condition now does to the state of their Forefathers in those days. I do not doubt, but of old their ordinary instruments were framed, if not tuned, to *diverse pitches* In 1 Chr. XV, 20, we read of *Psalteries* on *Alamoth*, which Tremellius worthily rendreth *acute symphonie*, Trebles, and gives this reason for it, that the word naturally signifying Vir-

gins,

Vid.

not, ad

Loc.

gins, the musick denominated from them, may justly be conceived to resemble their voices. In the next verse we have *Harp* on the *Sheminith*, which proportionably he renders *Gravis symphonia*, that is, as the word naturally signifies, an *Eighth* (we will suppose) lower. And in *Ps. CL, 5*, Even as to Cymbals, which we may conceive to admit of less varietie, yet we find there were the *lowd Cymbals*, and others of a much stronger and commanding sound than they, though both sorts to be employed in the praise of God. In sum then, as I conceive the *Psalteries* ordinarily amongst them to have been proportionable to our *Treble* instruments, so the Harps to have borne somewhat like our Tenor or Bass: and the Cymbals (considering the nature of the instrument) I cannot imagine to have supplied any other part, than what I may call a continued drone, though they might be of different pitches.

The result of all is, that as they had all variety of instruments in their publick Worship, so these so framed, contrived and managed, that there was

most sweet and orderly Harmony amongst them. And no less can any man conclude, who shall consider, that secret inspiration at first provided for the performance in this kind: The musical instruments were all framed by, or at the direction of *David*, who received his art from the Holy Ghost. The art of composition to these instruments, as also of managing them, was inspired into *Heman*, *Asaph* and *Jeduthun*. And for securing succession on every instrument, there was appointed a chief Musician: one on *Neginoth* (Ps. IV. title) that is, as *Tremellius* truly, laying aside all the more conjectural Glosses of others, interprets it, On the *stringed* instruments: another on *Nechiloth* (Ps. V. title.) that is, according to the same interpreter, on *Wind instruments*: and *Asaph* chief Cymbalist, 1 *Cbro.* XVI. 5.

Together with these instruments, as already proved, was sung the *song of the Lord*, yet so, as that some difference of song may be observed. This I ground upon the titles of the Psalms, some whereof are inscribed only *Psalms*, others *Songs*: Some שיר משה A song
psa'm,

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psalm, as *Psal.* XLVIII, LXXIII,
 &c. Other מִזְמוֹר שִׁיר *A Psalm-song*,
 as *Psal.* XXX, LXVIII, &c., Touch-
 ing these two compound titles, I find
 this note of *Tremellius*: "Both of them,
 saith he, "used to be song with voice
 "and instrument, onely with this dif-
 "ference. *Canticum psalmum incipie-*
bat vox sanctorum modulari, & prae-
tem sequebantur instrumenta, &c." The
 "voice of the singers begun or led in
 "the *Song-psalm*, and the instruments
 "followed their voices as they led:
 "But in the *Psalm-song*, the Musicians.
 "with their instruments first began the
 "melody, and the voice of the singers
 "followed with the song. *Vatablus*
 has the same note, onely he tells us,
 the present Hebrew Doctors will not
 acknowledge themselves acquainted
 with any such difference. But the ti-
 tles importing some difference, and
 none being more probable, as far as
 I can see, than this, I account this reason-
 able: and in proportion hereto con-
 ceive, those, which were intitled
 meerly *songs*, were usually sung with
 the Voice alone; those which are inti-
 tuled

In pf:
 48. tit.

Contra
 Isidor.
 Orig. l.
 6. c. 19.

In tit.
 Pf. 30.

tuled simply *Psalms*, with voice and instruments both beginning together. And I should think, the import of the words, *Canticum* and *Psalms*, may justifie the conjecture. However, that the Jewes sometime sung with the voice alone, none can deny, any more than that at other times they sung in a mixt way.

Further, in the very self-same Psalm or song, some little variation of singing, I presume, may be inferr'd from that word *Selab*, which, to omit all the learned Glosses thereon, signifying in its natural import no more than *Elevation*, I take to have been in some proportion of the like force with them, if not as a sharp, yet as the usual letter for lowd musick is with us. But if not, the *Septuagints* rendring it $\Deltaιψαλμα$ (that is, $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\upsilon\varsigma \epsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$, saith *Suidas*) will infer, that some variation of singing was designed to be notified thereby, though it doth not determine what. The like also do I judge touching *Higgaion*, *Psa.* 1X, 16. namely, that it required some diverse modulation in what it was affixt to, as severall of the Hebrews also say, though I should think it very contrary

to

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to *Selab* : for its root *שלב* sometimes signifying *murmurare*, *mussitare*, it may be conceived to denote properly enough some very soft musick. Nor do I forget when I say so, that it is join'd with *Selab*, in the place where it is found : for, one part of the Quire being supposed to be silent (as ordinary) while another part sings, the first might sing in a very soft low way [*Higgaion*] the part following, on the contrary, brisk and high [*Selab*] But this is onely a conjecture of mine own.

That *Shiggaion* in the title of Ps. VII, signifies a certain peculiar way of Psalmody is allowed by several of the Rabbies. It was, saith Tremellius, *Ode Erratica*, id est, *multiplex cantu*, *quæ omnibus rationibus musica decantabatur simul* : "A mixt and changeable kind of song, which was sung with all Musically varieties at the same time. So that upon the whole it appeares, There was in the old Jewish Quire variety in their Vocal Musick, proportionable to that of their Instrumental.

Nor was this their Chorall practice a businesse of one age, but from its first

Rabb: Dav:
R. Menahem.
Ex. vid. Pag:
-nin: ad oocm

constitution under *David*, was continued, and still, if any disorder or neglect had insinuated it self amongst the *Quiremen*, orderly regulated and reinforced by the most Religious Jewish Kings; and when their afflicted state of affaires occasioned any interruption of it, forthwith revived with their first hopes and maturations towards a settlement, as is plain from *Ez.* III. 2. *Nehem.* XI. 17. and XII. 27. I. *Maccab.* IV. 54: so that it may be justly said to have expired onely with their prosperity.

Such was the Jewish *Quire*, their
Sect. 3. number of members, their quality, office, performance vocal and instrumental, and such their time and continuance. It cannot be expected, that the Christian *Quires* should answer in all particularities; not especially in the number of members, nor therefore in the variety and multitude of instruments, nor possibly in diverse other points: We must acknowledge ourselves for the main far out-done, and study to supply with spiritual and gracious hearts, what we want in outward grandeur and state. The first visible
 step

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step to the forming a Christian Quire,
 I take to have been, the appointing *Ca-*
nonical psalmists or *singers*, of which we
 read early in the Church; & an account
 has already been given in that behalf.
 Now, though it be the Doctrine of the
 present, and was the Doctrine of the
 Antient Church (as we find by *Isidor-*
us Hispalensis, reporting the useages De.
 before his time) that *Ad hoc officium* Eccl.
etiam absque conscientia Episcopi, solá Offic.
jussione Presbyteri, eligi quique solent, l: 2. c.
quos probabiles in arte cantandi esse consti- 12.
terit. “ There needs no ordination,
 “ nor even privity of the Bishop, to put
 “ particular men into this Office; but
 “ the Presbyters, whom it concerns,
 “ may choose such men, whom it shall
 “ be apparent to be skill’d in singing,
 “ and by their own authority invest
 “ them; yet it cannot be questioned,
 but that to the first constituting of such
 a particular Office in the Church, or such
 an order of men, whose business it
 should be, by their Office, to sing pub-
 lickly to God in the Church, there was
 not onely the advice of godly Bishops,
 but also of Synods or Councils. We
 V v v 2 meet,

meet, as before said, with *Canonical singers* in that ancient Council of *Laodicea*. How long such an Order had been in the Church before that Council, I am not able to speak : but it is plain, such Order is by that Council approved, authorised, and priviledged. There being a body, there would soon appear necessity of an head : and therefore it is very probable from the beginning of such *singers*, that, as well in imitation of the Jewish *Quire*, as out of the expediency and needfulness of the thing, there was appointed some able grave person, who in singing should lead and govern the *Quire*. In the same *Isidore* (though in another book of his) I find the very present name *Præcentor*, and him defined to be, *Qui vocem præmittit in cantu*, the person who leads in singing. He mentions also a *Succentor*, the person who takes up the song from the former, singing after and answering, and *Concentor*, *qui consonat*, who strikes in and sings along with both. What his *Incentor*, and *Accentor* elsewhere mean, I will not trouble my Reader with conjectures ; nor concern my self whe-

Orig.in
l: 7. c.
11.

Orig.
l: 6. c.
19.

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whether by *Præcentor*, he designed a person, who by his Office was over the rest (as we now commonly take the word) or onely such an one, who, as occasion served, sung first: though I do judge it probable (because highly requisite to order) that there was one, whose Office it was usually to begin the song, or appoint who should; and that such person had some little rule, or government of direction over the rest of the singers: So that the *Præcentor* may seem (at least, both in nature, and order of time) the *first* purely *choral dignitary*. But he is not the *first* at present, either in *order* or *power*, by Law: and therefore all I conclude hence is, that in *Isidore's* time at least (and probably before, for he writes of these, as no new things, but long customary in the Church) that is, about the middle of the sixth century, there were regular *Quires* in the Christian Church, and nearly resembling our present constitution. In process of time, when Cathedral and Collegiate Churches came to be settled and indowed, those very indowments perhaps, or the con-

quences of them, made it necessary that there should be other Dignitaries instituted, one superiour to the *Chanter*, though all of right subject to the *Bishop*. For, the notion of a Collegiate Church importing a society of Presbyters, and there being in every Cathedral Church such a Society or Colledge, which were designed as the *Council* of the Bishop (and are by the Law, if I mistake it not, called *Sacerdotes cardinales*, by us, in common language, *Canons* and *Prebendaries*) and these being ordained to higher functions than meerly officiating in the Quire, though all of them have places, and ought in course to attend and officiate in the Quire, it was not reasonable they should be govern'd by him onely, who was at the most but head of the Quire, and the Bishop could not always be present. This made the dignity and office of the *Tean* necessary, which being a name first taken from Military discipline, and signifying him who had the command over ten souldiers, by its anientest plea, would pretend to no more than a right of *Presiding*

De off.
Archi-
pr. ex-
tra cap.
Mini-
steri-
um.

Mode-
tum. de
restitu-
tione.

dency over ten Canons or Regular priests, *In Monasteriis Decani appellati, qui decem Monachis præerant.* And this, I believe at first, was the most regular number: but now, use has altered the case in that regard, though the name remain still. Now, for what further authority a Dean (as such) can pretend to, derived from the Law in common, and not founded on particular statutes and custome, he must be content to claim in another style, and under the name that the Canon-law gives him, that I mean of *Archipresbyter*, with the addition of *civitatis*, which, that it was intended, touching the *Dean*, see the *Glosse ad Distinct. XXV. perlectis. vocem Archipresbyter.* And, as to the antient particulars of his Office, see them in the same *Distinction*, and *de Off. Archipresb. extra cap. Officium.* The more substantial part and summe whereof, as by later *Canons* may appear, is this, that he inspect the manners of the clergy under him, and keep all in their duty. *Vid. concil. Colon. de Metropolit. & collegiat. Eccl. c. 2. In animarum regimine, & mo-*

Augu-
stin. de
morib.
Ma-
nich.
l. i.

rum correctione prævineat. stat. Sar.

The next Dignitary in the Quire, is the *Chanter* or *Præcentor*, who also for any further power than what that term imports, must claim in another name, and, as the Law calls him, *Primicerius*: a word onely derived, say some, from *Primus*, and not at all compounded; and signifying in *Suidas* his language, *Πρῶτος τῆς τάξης*, *the first of his Order*, and belonging to the *Chanter*, who is the *first of the Quire*, though not *in the Quire*. His duty is set down in diverse places of the Law, *de Off. Primicer. extra cap. ut Primic. Et vid. Gloss. ibid. Et XXI. Distinct. Cleros.* but most fully *XXV. distinct. perlectis*, the summe whereof, as to what is of present concernment to our Quires, I will set down. *Ad Primicerium pertinent — Psalmistæ atque Lectores; signum quoque dandum pro Officio Clericorum, pro vitæ honestate: & Officium cantandi & peragendi sollicitè Lectiones, Psalmum, Laudes, Responsoria Officiorum, quis clericorum debeat dicere. Ordo quoque & modus canendi in choro pro sollemnitate temporis. Clericos quos delinquere cognoscit,*

Briffon
Lexic.
Juris.

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gnoscit, ipse distingat; quos emendare non valet, eorum excessus ad agnitionem Episcopi deferat. I translate it not, because all, whom it much concerns, understand it. The short of it is, he is by his Office to direct, instruct, reprove, punish and complain the Quire, as he sees occasion.

According to our present constitution, the next dignitary we have in our Quires, though not so much as insinuated, that I can find, in the *Canon-law* (except we should thus understand the title of *Custos, Extra de off. cust. cap. custos. Et, custos sol.* which I do not conceive we ought) is the *Chancellor*. The name in our *Laws Glossaries*, has a double *Etymology* assigned it: either from *cancellando*, because it appertained to the *Chancellor* to peruse publick Writings, to *cancel* or correct such as were faulty, and to give solemn approbation, by his seal, or otherwise, to those he thought fit; Or from *cancellis*, because this Officer being busied generally amongst papers and records, had his seat within certain rails or lattices for greater security

Calv.
Lexic.
Jurid.

In Glossar. rity and privacy. The great Sir *Henry Spelman* rather approves the latter. From such original the name being taken, is applied to several honourable Offices both in Church and State. And in our present case, the *Chancellor* is a dignitary, to whom (according to the institution of *Oswund* of happy memory, Bishop of *Sarum*, and, as is said, Founder of that Church, a Church which deservedly wears the title of *Famous*, and whose statutes are in practice in many Cathedrals besides it self) to whom, I say, it belongs "to govern the Schools, to correct the "books (such, I suppose, which are copied for the use of the *Quire*) "to "keep the Church seal, to peruse and "put in order their Papers, to read "such letters and instruments as are to "be read in the Chapter, and some other things, most part now out of date; I believe him regularly the Chapter Secretary. The last dignitary properly belonging to our *Quires* is the *Treasurer*, whom the Law calls by the name of *Sacrist*. *De Off. Sacrist. extra cap. Ut sciat*. To him belongs the care

Extrac.
Stat.
farisb.
M. S.
Penes
Eccl.
S. Patr.
Dubl.

care and custody of the Church-plate, Ornaments, and such like Treasury, the provision of Candles, and some other small matters. *Vid. & 25. distinct. Perleſis. prope fin.*

Now, though these particulars in the administration of the Quire, as others appertaining to the state of the Church, belong by Law thus distinctly, as stated, to each of the dignitaries by themselves, yet first, in the absence of any superiour, his power, for the regulating any present occurrence, is supposed, both by law and custome, devolved to the next dignitary present. And secondly, as to matters of any great moment, to be transacted in either cases, there is nothing done without the joint-advice and consent of all the Dignitaries (or such at least of them, as can or will be present) assembled with others of their Brethren, the *Canons* or *Prebendaries* belonging to such Church; which Assembly we call the *Chapter*, of whom the *Dean* is the head. So that, by the by, we may take notice, whatsoever some people talk of the *sole jurisdiction* of *Bishops*,

there is, as we see, a *Colledge* of *Presbyters*, whom, as need serves, the Bishop calls to him, in every Cathedral Church: The *Dean* and *chapter*, as odious names as they are to some, are no other.

But to return to my purpose. This is the Government of our Quires: As to the body of them, they consist of *children* and *men*. The *children* we usually take off from their parents, by their parents consents, and breed up in the art of Musick, and in some other parts of good literature, as we find them capable. And why it should be any more unlawful to teach children to sing sweetly and decently to God, & to employ them afterwards daily in such singing, in our Quires, than to suffer them to sing rudely in our Parish-churches, I confess my self not able to imagine. The *men* are commonly such persons, as have been bred up in our Quires from their childhood, and therefore intimately understand their business, as to point of singing. Some few of the elder and more able of these are usually ordained Deacons or Priests, for
for

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for the service of God in the Quire, and in that capacity officiate in our Quires: the others still retaining their Lay-condition. The number of these is very different, according to the several constitutions, endowments, and foundations of our Quires respectively: but a Quire of less than twelve, in duty bound to attend, I have no where, to my knowledge, seen, and seldome or never of so few.

As to *instruments*, we generally content our selves with the *Organ* alone, that indeed being (as now it is perfected) deservedly to be preferred before, and supplying well the room of all other instruments; and besides this its preeminence in variety and fulness, employing fewest hands, and not obnoxious to be out of tune upon every little accident, or requiring new tuning each time it is used, as commonly stringed instruments do. Notwithstanding we neither do, nor can condemn the grave use of *stringed instruments*, which therefore in the Kings Chappels, and perhaps in some other greater Quires, are upon some more solemn

occasions imploied. But as to those which I call properly *pulsatil* ones, they are not, nor ever, that I know of, were, used in the Christian Worship, any further than to call the people thereto.

Sec. 4.

Such being the constitution, and such the government of our Quires, it may seem a little wonderful, that after such strict discussions of the expediency of all things, as this age has seen, there should any thing remain amongst us, practised in the Worship of God which sober men might esteem obnoxious or blameable: and truly I know nothing of that nature, which can pretend to the authority of Sanction, or even of approved custome, for its support. The levity and unconcernedness, that some of our Quire-men discover in the performance of their Office, is, I am sure, frequently check't, and not unpunisht in several of our Quires. What is neer a kin hereto, their precipitant posting over the Psalms, and the like parts of their duty, as if weary thereof, and desirous to have them at a speedy end, escapes no better. And, I trust there are very few places,
in

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in which, from any overt acts, connived at by their superiours, the performers may justly be taxed of want of seriousness. If there be such instances, let all the world know, I apologize not for them, nor is it my intent in this discourse, in the least, to excuse them. But, to speak freely my sense, the summe of what I judge most obnoxious to just censure, is made up of the particulars following.

First, it may be conceived, that some of our Anthems and Services, as our Church-composers have ordered the matter, favour more of *curiosity* of *musick*, than design of devotion. Whereas all Musick used in the worship of God, ought to be reverential, grave and easie, accommodated as well to the intelligibleness of the words, as to such tender affections and meltings of soul, as we profess it intended to beget, we may observe, on the contrary, our Gentlemen sometimes bring us airy, and even mimical composures, difficult and distractive of the Performers thoughts, and not consistent enough with the hearers understanding.

They

They contrive our Church-musick, in compliance with the vanity and vices of the age, and are more concerned to shew themselves *Artists a la mode*, than to fit their Melody for the engaging their own and others hearts in pious affections towards God. From hence it comes to pass, that, Secondly, we have, in several of these new pieces, strangely needless and nauseous, not to say senseless, repetitions of such words or clauses I mean, on which no *Emphasis* lies fit to detain thought, or exercise devotion. If any word consist of consonant and voluble syllables, fitter than others to bear some little sequel of Notes, which the Musician fancies, it shall be dailied with, and tost as a feather in the air, for no other reason, but because the Artist would shew his skill thereby, and tickle the ears and fancies of vainer minds: Whereas it is truly more art, I am sure it ought to be more the business of our Choral Masters, to reconcile musick, and the sense of the words. The Notes should follow the matter and as for such repetitions, as the completing the Musick does

re.

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require, they should be made on words or clauses, which, by reason of their pregnant import (*decies repetita placebunt*) have still a new gratefulness in them, the more repeated, because they administer fresh matter of thought, and ardour of affection, to the devout soul. Thirdly, it may be adjudged another fault, neer a kin hereto, that these Gentlemen choose out words for Anthems as they *sound*, and not as they *signifie*. Nor is it enough to bear them out, that they be able to say, the words are express Scripture; for, according to what we have above spoken, words may be unfit for Anthems, not onely because the soundness of their sense is suspicious, but, because they do not properly suit with the business of divine praise. Unsound, we will suppose, nothing of Scripture can be; but, it is not the hundredth part of Scripture that was designed for Lands, nor ought therefore to be sung to God Anthem wise. People might as well turn the Genealogies of the Patriarchs, or of our Lord Jesus, into Anthems, as some places of Scripture which they have done.

Lastly, I cannot tell, whether some may judge our simple Voluntaries, or Musick, which no words accompany, not so congruous to the Christian state, and Worship. For my own part, I profess, they offend not, but help me: yet I will not say, but something more apt to general edification, might be substituted in their room. This is the summe total of such particulars in our Choral practice, as I can judge blameable or improveable.

Now, if we search into the Original
 Sect 5. of these (and that is the first step towards their redress) we shall find them, for the greatest part, due to the want of Learning, and meet institution in the common sort of our Quire-men and Church-musicians. To confess ingenuously, when it pleased God to *bring back the captivity of Zion*, if we were not *as men that dreamt*, yet we were truly surprised, and unprovided in a great measure, to celebrate, as we would, the happiness God had vouchsafed us, and the wonderful and most undeserved grace and goodness of the Doner. The truth is, the rage of the War, having
 feat.

scattered our Quire-men, and ravish'd from them their subsistence, had also put them to seek their bread in mean, miserable and illiberal waies: and those few Principles of Literature, which any of them had, were, by that means, extinguish'd or lost, rather than improv'd, their natural parts lower'd and debas'd, or worse: so that the thin number of them, who survived these calamities to see the Restauration, retained nothing but their Musick, which possibly they would have lost too in a great part, but that their necessities would not permit them to *hang their harps upon the willows*, their Musical skill being the most considerable means of support then left them. Nevertheless, they were not then to *sing the Song of the Lord*, nor any of the *songs of Zion*, but to contrive their melodies to the humour of such who would feed them: The influence hereof, both upon our Musicians, and Musick, is sadder than I will speak of. Now such as these generally being the persons, which, at the Restauration, were to be made use of (or none) to retrieve

the goodly Choral practice, they contented themselves to indoctrinate those, whom they were to breed for succession, in what onely themselves now understood: and, if they made even the most pregnant of these to be excellent Musicians, they esteemed it a mighty service done the Church, and thought themselves amply to have discharged their Office. This I take to be the great reason, why many of our Church-musicians are nothing but Musicians. And, besides this, I do not know, whether there be not some little fate, or secret fascination, in the case, that those, who intimately study and understand musick, without great importunity, never give themselves to the study of any thing else, and admire no excellencies so much as those of their own art. I confess my self to admire Musick, as much, I think, as any man ought to do: but notwithstanding all the value I have for it, I cannot think this alone is a sufficient accomplishment for a rational creature, or ought to be made, as it were, the sole business of a mans life: and it would

really move lamentation in any considerable man, to see how *ill* very great skill in musick oftentimes *dwells*. Some persons, upon this alone, may be observed to value themselves above the most universal scholars ordinarily to be met with; whereas, take them out of that art, and they want the common judgment of men. And, though few or none of our Quire-composers may, I hope, deserve so severe a character, yet, with grief I speak it, if I should be challenged, out of all them that I have known, to produce ten persons, who, with their musick, understood Grammatical English, I should be to seek for some of the number. *All* the consequences hereof I urge not, but, I may safely say, such being the defect in these mens education, Hence it comes to pass, that the younger sort being intent on the musick, generally neglect the matter of what they sing; and the elder have onely a confused notion thereof: Hence, too, that levity, hast and unconcernedness, which is observable in some of their performances. These were the two first imputa-

tions mentioned. Of the same Original, also, is the unmeetness of much of our new musick in excessive curiosity, aieriness and difficulty; as also those frivolous repetitions, and that playing with words abovetaxed. Nor, in summe, can I refer the imprudent choice of Words for Anthems, and whatever there is of like nature, to any more unquestionable source: and I have good reason to assure my self, there are not 2 few of my mind.

Sect. 6.

Now the redress of this defect is as *necessary*, as *ease*, though possibly it cannot altogether be effected on the sudden. That it is *necessary*, none can doubt, who believes the Worship of God to consist in any thing else, but trifling, sport, lip-labour, and gratifying mens carnal sense: and all the *difficulty*, that is in it, lies in taking care, for the future, of better *educating* our Choristers, and of *supplying vacancies*, as they fall, at present with men of more *solid learning*, though not of so exquisite voices and skill. Musick moderately good, is best, perhaps, to all intents and purposes; but
of

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of this more anon. In the mean time, the first step to a redress in this case, I have said to be greater care in the education of our Choristers, that they be not taught musick alone, but, together therewith, Grammar, and some Humane Learning; but, especially, that they be well instructed in Religion, by being brought not onely to repeat their Catechism, as usual, but intimately to understand it, and carried a little further into the doctrine of Christianity. For, it is plain, by the title of our Church-Catechism, it was designed chiefly for children before Confirmation: and no one can doubt their fidelity to the Church, who have propounded further methods for growing peoples instruction, as judging much more necessary for them. And 'tis certain, there is no surer way to make men serious and sincere in Religion, than by bringing them to a clear and good understanding of it. *That the soul be without knowledge, it is not good*, was the judgment of the wisest of meer men. This begets in mens hearts, a perswasion of the real truth

Dr. Ham in Pract. Catech. in not. +
Prov: 19. 2.
and

1 Edw.
6. c. 14

and importance of Religion, and that a sense and fear of Gods Goodness, Majesty, Omniscience, and being privy to all our actions and thoughts, but more especially, eying our demeanour, both of soul and body, in all acts of worship to him. Now, for such institution of these small people as I desire, I cannot suppose, but the statutes of every Cathedral or Collegiate Church, have made provision: at least I never knew, nor heard of any such Church in *England*, which had not a Grammar-School belonging to it. Nay, even in all lesser Religious Houses or Bodies, where the Fraternity maintained before-time, a Grammar-School-master, and a Preacher, it was enacted by Statute, soon upon the dissolution, that lands, tenements & hereditaments should be set apart for the maintenance of such a School-master, and a Preacher. So that I cannot suppose any such Church, as I speak of, destitute either of a School-master, or a Catechist: and, in the Constitutions of such Schools, there are commonly clauses for teaching the Cho-

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risters. This shews us, the judgment of the Church-men of those dayes was not, that learning to sing was the business of a mans life: and, if any of our Musicians now are so fond of their art, as to tell us, if we will have boys fit for the Quire, they must attend nothing but song and musick, their ignorance is not to be indulged, nor they allowed their humour herein. After a year or two sole attending song, if the boyes are capable, and the Masters diligent, some lesser practice daily will perfect them, and a good part of each day may be allocated to such purpose, as I contend for. The influence hereof would be much greater, than I have yet spoken: for, by this means, our Quire-men being in part bred scholars, would be more intelligent and serious, not onely in their Office in the Church, but abroad in their conversations; and in private too, they would be able to entertain themselves, and delight in reading, study and meditation, which might both improve them in knowledge, virtue, and even in Divine musick it self, and also keep them

Z z z from

from having their time ly upon their hands (as now many of them have) and the intolerable inconveniencies consequent, of which I am silent. *Pudet hac, &c.*— Now, if there should be any who are of a contrary mind, and patronize a practice contrary herein, I beseech such persons seriously, and in the fear of God, betwixt God and their own consciences to consider, how they will answer God one day, for all the ignorance, idleness, irreligion and lewdness of a certain Order of men, which is the unavoidable consequence of these their sentiments and practice, and from which, in all humane probability, they had been delivered, to the preservation of their souls, the glory of God, the removal of scandal from our Church, had they had such education as the Laws of our Churches designed them, and I here contend for. I dare put it under my hand, there will never be a devout religious succession of young people in our Quires, without a diligent Schoolmaster, and a conscientious Catechist, or some good persons, who will discharge

charge to the Choristers those parts. And, except our Quire-men do approve themselves, in *divine offices* serious and devout, *worshipping God in spirit and in truth*, and paying to him a *rational*, as well as an harmonious service, and, in their *ordinary conversation*, discreet, sober, and, in some measure, exemplary persons, at least free from ignorance, impiety, luxury and idleness, we can expect no other fate to our Quires, than what befell the Nests of lewd and ignorant Monks. God forbid, I should say or think, all at the Dissolution deserved that character; but, if we may believe History, so great a number of them were such, as, in all probability, brought the judgment of God on the rest. Not that I justify neither all the proceeding of those daies in that affairs for, I understand not desolation to be a method of Reformation: But I justify the Holy God, and own the demerit of humane guilt.

But to return to our purpose: This care being taken for succession, till such time as a more refined race of Quire-

men might be thus bred, I must confess, I see no reason, why Vacancies, as they fall, should not be supplied with men, who have somewhat else to commend them, besides their musical skill. Methinks it is a little iniquitous to prefer musick alone, before musick in conjunction with other liberal Arts and Sciences. It hath really moved pity in me sometimes, to consider a virtuous, grave, learned person, who had served a double or treble apprenticeship to good literature of all sorts, and past several Scholastical degrees in the University, to have sat down in a Countrey Vicarage, or small Rectory, of fifty or sixty pound *per ann.* whither, possibly, he might bring with him, amongst his Books, from the University, a *Basse Viol* (the more portable and most considerable reserves of his other instruments, and musical diversifements) which he could tune three or four wayes, and, betwixt his voice and it, with pretty variety make a little quire by himself: This person, besides great diversity of other Learning, and deep knowledge in Divinity, under

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derstanding the antient and modern musick in a manner from the first grounds thereof, & being fit to be a Professour almost in any thing, yet, in frugality and content, shall enjoy himself and friends on that slender annual income, one equal whereto, our young gentlemen, puffed up onely with their own aires, daily huff at and complain of, as insufficient for their maintenance, and below their worth. Now, of these two orders of men, let even prejudice it self speak, which is to be preferr'd? But, to what purpose is this writ? will some say. Shall we think of fetching those reverend persons from their contented privacies? By no means: they do a greater service to God and his Church, amongst their Countrey Neighbours. They are happy enough to pity the Grandees of the age, and more may envy them, than can equal them. But there are in both our English Universities, hopeful young Scholars, of no contemptible standing and proficiency, who, had they the advantages of some small addition to their fortunes, might become as ac-

complisht persons as those before spoken of, but it has been their lot to have mis't Scholarships or Fellowships, for that onely reason, that the Houses are full: these would be glad of a support, which would give them leisure for their studies, and would with their hearts accept and adorn the places we speak of. Besides such students, sometimes we may find other persons of another education, though not Choral neither, who understand Musick as intimately as most do, and are masters of many other accomplishments therewith, who would not look upon the Quire-service either as toilsome or dishonourable. Now, suppose some persons of either sort (and both are supposed men of understanding and seriousness) should be taken in to fill up places as they become void, till such time we have like hopeful Plants out of our own Nurseries, would it not be more for the credit of the Church, and interest of Religion, than to entail this Divine Office on men, for the most part, meerly musicians; touching which profession, I need not fear to re-

record this observation, that, as there is nothing more sweet than that soul wherein Learning, Virtue and Musick dwell, so, on the contrary, there is nothing usually more intolerably conceited and fantastical, than a meer Musician.

There are onely two things, which I see objectionable against what I have commended touching these supplies, whereof the former is, that this would be a great discouragement to our young Quiremen, who have been bred up, and done service in expectation of these little promotions, which, according to this practice, they must certainly be disappointed of. Whereto I say, First, I conceive it will rather be to them an incentive to diligence and seriousness, when they see it is not their meer musical skill, but their other improvements in religious knowledge and virtue, which must prefer them: and if they are thus improved, God forbid that they should be put by. As on the other side, Secondly, if they be, for the main, devoid of such improvements, the places they have, be they

as mean as any of them use to be, are encouragements enough for them; and, if any of them think otherwise, let them seasonably divert to other imployments, and, possibly, both they and the Church may be better provided for.

The other Objection is, that by this means, our Church-musick may become much poorer, and degenerate from those refined perfections, to which it is at present arrived. And to this, I answer, in a Text of the Canon-Law. *In sacro ministerio dum blanda vox quaritur, congrua vita negligitur: & cantor minister Deum moribus stimulat, cum populum vocibus delectat.* It is not impossible, some men have been more curious in Church-musick, than God or his Church will thank them for: and, if we will hearken either to Fathers or Councils, such nicety in singing, as some men seem to affect, may well be forborn. Art, indeed, was by divine institution to be used (as we have seen) and otherwise it is scarce possible, but that singing to God, must be one of the most ungrateful, nauseous and reproachful Offices imagi-

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92. In
Sancta.

nable. We would not therefore, that persons either wanting musical skill, or of grating and untuneable voices, should be appointed to this Office, whatever their other learning may be. Let herein *Rabanus Maurus* his advice be heard, *Psalmistam & voce & arte præclarum illustremque esse oportet*: "Singers ought to be excellent both for voice and art. But it is sure, that as this ought not to be their onely excellency, so neither ought their singing to be otherwise than grave, awful, and favouring of devotion and attention to the matter sung. Those delicacies, which by too much tickling of the ear, draw the mind off from the subject-matter, have, in the Worship of God, been ever condemn'd, and must still stand so: and there ought certainly to be more simplicity in Church-musick, than in that, which is fitted for curious and wanton ears at Entertainments of mirth. I cannot but transcribe that passage of *St. Hierom* to this purpose, commenting on *St. Paul's melody of the heart*, part of which *Gratian* too makes use of in the Distinction now mention-

De in-
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Cleric.
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c. 11.

In E-
phes.
c. 5.

ned, *Audiant hæc adolescentuli, audiant hi quibus psallendi in Ecclesia officium est: Deo non voce sed corde cantandum est, nec in Tragædorum morem guttur & fauces dulci medicamine colliniendas, ut in Ecclesiâ Theatrales moduli audiantur & cantica, sed in timore & opere, in scientia Scripturarum. Quamvis sit aliquis (ut solent illi apparere) ^{videtur}, si bona opera habuerit, dulcis apud Deum cantator est. Sic cantet servus Christi, ut non vox canentis, sed verba placeant, quæ leguntur, ut spiritus malus, qui erat in Saule, ejiciatur ab his qui similiter ab eo possidentur, & non introducatur in eos qui de domo Dei scenam fecere populorum.* The summe is, as the manners of Quiremen should be very different from those of Players, so should their musick too, not favouring of those delicate relishes which may be expected at a Theatre, but onely in a grateful sort transmitting such words and sense to the minds of the hearers, as may enlarge their hearts towards God, and cast out of them the evil spirit (all vile and worldly affections) as David's musick did the evil spirit out of Saul. Let us hear also the words of

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of an antient Synod in our own Nation, Concil.
in the Year 747. *Presbyteri—ne tragico Clove,*
sono sacrorum verborum compositionem shov.
ac distinctionem corrumpant vel confun-
dant, sed simplicem sanctamque melodi-
am secundum morem Ecclesie sectentur. can,
a pud
Spekm.
Tom. I
“Let not the Priests in singing corrupt
“or confound the frame and distinct
“pronunciation, or hearing of the sa-
“cred words by Theatrical Notes, but
“let them observe or use plain and ho-
“ly melody, according to the custome
“of the Church. I could add more of
this nature, but that I have above har-
ped on this string. Upon the whole,
plain enough it is, that we ought not
to be so solicitous for the curiosity of
musick or Voices, as for the devotion
of the performers and people: and it
were to be wished our hearts were bet-
ter, though our Musick were more
ordinary: at least, even herein, a
Mean is best. Further, let us consi-
der, what many times we gain, in ha-
ving so much regard meerly to exquis-
ite Voices: we take in persons with
such voices, for their voices sake, and
as *Jesurun*, they *wax fat and kick; nay,*
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by their own ill manners, they many times spoil those their voices, and then there's nothing left good in them: Now can any man of ordinary devotion not nauseate, in some measure, the praises of God, when coming out of such mouths? Wherefore I stick to this former assertion, that one meanes to improve our Choral practice to more spiritual advantage is, to fill Vacancies in our Quires, as they fall, with men of as good learning, and as much seriousness, as we can get, although their Voices be but tolerable; who may both themselves sing with understanding, gravity and devotion, and promote, at least not prejudice and disturb, the like *melody of the heart* in the people.

This same expedient too, if applied, would also speedily redress those other points supposed censurable, of any unmeet musick, frivolous repetitions or less proper words in our Anthems: for persons of the character given, would soon most intimately perceive those blemishes, and either cure them, or, of their own accords, lay aside any thing, if incurable.

But,

But, is there no remedy in these *sect.* ⁷
 last mentioned points, till such new
 modelling our Quires can be brought a-
 bout? Yes verily, and that most easie.
 For I do averr it, that particular An-
 thems and Services are not to be pitch-
 ed upon, or chosen day by day, at the
 pleasure of the Quire-men, or as they
 agree, but by the direction of their
 superiours. Let them compose what
 they will, they ought not to bring
 their Composures into publick use,
 much less have liberty so to do, till
 such their Composures shall be allowed
 by those, whom it concerns in that be-
 half. Such subordination we observed
 in the Jewish Quire, that the chief
Musician, or Head of the Quire, pre-
 scribed what for that time they sung;
 and therefore, certainly, it was allowed
 by him, at least before it was sung. And,
 supposing that there are in our Church-
 es Anthems and Services already al-
 lowed, to whom it belongs to appoint
 them, *de jure*, we have already spo-
 ken. But, as to the allowance of a-
 ny new *Service* (by that term, we
 mean onely some new musical compo-

sure of our ordinary Hymns, the *Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, &c.) whatsoever right the *Præcentor* might claim thereto, because there is nothing in it new but the musick (and to him by his Office, as aforesaid, belongs the *Ordo canendi*) yet all such allowance & right of his, must be in subordination to the Bishop, as will appear by a Text of the Canon-law, presently to be produced. And, as to any new Anthems, because therein not onely the musick, but the words are new, (new at least, as to this kind of use and design) therefore none but the Bishop, or he whom the Bishop intrusts or authorises in that case, has power to give allowance thereto. This I prove hence: The Act of Uniformity enjoins no other Form of Service shall be used in publick, but the Book of Common-prayers, and that in Order as established. That Book contains not such Anthems as we speak of, but in the Rubrick supposes, that in *Cathedral Churches and places where they sing* (*viz.* in a Choral way) there used to be Anthems, and assigns the proper place for them: there-

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therefore, there being no new sanction, as to either the matter or form of such Anthems, it is left to those to appoint both matter and form meet for them, to whom, by ancient Ecclesiastical law and custome it did before appertain: But, by some of the most antient Canons as we have seen, nothing might be sung in the Church without (at least) the Bishops approbation; and by custome, before any such law, godly Bishops, as we have said, have framed or directed the new framing of Hymns, or Anthems, according to new emergencies, for the use of their Churches; and finally, the letter of the Canon-law is expresse to this purpose, *Sum præcesserit unusquisque in suis ordinibus ipse* [i. e. *Episcopus*] *est præordinator in cunctis*: “Whatsoever preeminence of power any hath within his Order, notwithstanding the Bishop has a superintendent direction or authority in all, namely, over all his Clergy, however dignified: Therefore nothing new, as to form of words, or mode of musick, may be admitted, at least stand allowed, in the Quire, without

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25. Per-
lectis.

out the approbation of the Bishop: And further, it is plain by the promises, that if by the connivance, or, which is more likely, without the privacy of any preceding or present Bishop, any thing obnoxious, in the regards before mentioned, should have silently crept into use, it is in the power of the *Precentor*, or, in his absence, in the power of him, to whomsoever his power is devolved, to lay aside such obnoxious Services or Anthems, by appointing still, from time to time, others to be sung, which are not so.

Supposing therefore, as needs I must, that both the Bishops and Choral Dignitaries, are persons of such learning, that they will easily discern, and of such integrity and devotion, that they will not give their allowance to things thus censurable, in the stead of meditating any new particulars of redress in this kind, I will humbly take the boldness to become a passionate and dutiful suppliant to the Fathers, and all the Cathedral Dignitaries of the Church, that they will be pleased to consider their own Right, and to resume and exercise their

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their invaded power, by taking an usurped liberty out of such mens hands, who know not how to use it for edification. It is not usually difficult to prevail with men, to claim and take what is their own; and there being no way so easie, so natural and regular, for the redressing the points conceived obnoxious, as this is, and withal this being surely effectual to this purpose, if applied, I cannot but rest confident, my supplication will as soon speed, as it comes to the knowledge of any concerned herein; if yet the matter I plead for, be not already the practice in most Churches. I am sure all men must conclude it unreasonable, that such people should at pleasure prescribe matter and form for the publick devotion (as our Quire-men do, when upon their single fancy, they put new Anthems upon us) whom we have reason to lament, as not understanding so intimately, as they should, the nature of devotion themselves.

The onely point of this kind, yet remaining undispatcht, is our *Voluntaries*, of the lawfulness and design of which

we have already spoken; but, whether they are not improveable, & how, is at present to be considered. Possibly, they advise not ill, who would have little *difficult* musick, and none at all which might be accounted *Mute* (that is accompanied with no Hymn) in Church-use. We observed above amongst the various musical Performances in the Jewish Church, what the titles of the Psalms stile a *Psalm-song*, wherein we found the practice to be this, the musick begun, and the Song or Hymn followed: If this use were gravely or decently drawn into example, and in stead of simple Voluntaries, some single voice, or lesser *Chorus*, attended the Organ with a short Hymn, many peoples devotion would be less at a loss, and in stead of rambling at large, have whereon to fix, and such a conduct of thought, as, it may be, many want. I have observed in some Churches, in stead of Voluntaries, a *Sanctus*, or the Hymn *Holy Holy Holy Lord God of Hosts*, &c. to have been sung, the Organ joining as usually in other things. I wish that practice more
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general, or else that some Versicle (or Heavenly strain) out of the Psalms were used; & then I know not, what malice it self would have to say again^t such practices nor indeed against any thing in our Choral use, if thus managed as is humbly submitted.

Sec. 8.

I now come to consider what may be done for the better regulating the Parochial practice. And the first step to a redress in the several miscarriages herein must be (as I conceive) the taking away from the Parish-clerk the power, which God knows how he came by, to set the Psalm, as is usual, or to choose what shall be from time to time the Psalm to be sung. Reason enough have I given already, in my poor judgment, for so doing: and none can imagine, but the Minister of every Parish may effect it at pleasure. Let then the Minister, as often as any Psalm is to be sung, assign to the clerk what, and how much, for such time shall be sung. And here I cannot but judge the Ministers prudence will be such in his choice, as to avoid the most of the inconveniencies taxed (for all of the n,

I do not judge, can be avoided, till we have a new Version of the Psalms brought into use, and, perhaps, somewhat else): Namely, nothing will be sung, as we may reasonably hope, in the congregation, but what is fit, proper and apposite to the Christian estate, all ridiculous or Non-sensical passages in the Translation will be declined and laid aside, and, possibly, the people inured to such a constant *series* or known course of Psalms, as that they will be able to sing with understanding, because they sing what frequent use shall have made them well acquainted with; besides other advantages, that Psalms suitable to the time; or to the subject matter of the Sermon (which is much conducing to the benefit of the people) may be chosen, &c.

I confess we shall still, while J. H. and T. S. and the rest of that vein, must hold the possession of that authority which no one can justifie, be at a great loss, comparatively to what we should be, might a new Translation of singing-Psalms be substituted for this so faulty one of theirs. And I humbly beg

beg pardon, if I seem guilty of a Paradox, in asserting, that the Reverend Fathers of the Church both might (as I conceive) and would effect this, were it not adjudged imprudent to thwart a radicated popular humour, though unreasonable. I have said, the Bishop of the Church, and none regularly by common right but he, may appoint in his Church the matter and form of Anthems: and thence I infer further, Therefore he may appoint Singing-psalms, parcell'd out, and accommodated in the best sort he shall judge, for the use of his charge; for that these Psalms are sung onely as Anthems: and, if he have power to do as much as this comes to, nay, the very same in a manner, in the Cathedral, much more has he in a private Parish. I add further, that such Psalms so allowed and directed by the Bishop of the Diocese, would be of much more regular authority than these, which the people now sing: and even without the approbation or direction of the Bishops, as to these which we now have, I must say, as there is no English Version ex-

tant, that I ever yet could see, which is not incomparably better than them, so there is one which has much better authority already, particularly, that excellent one by King *James* of blessed memory. That, beside the authority which it derived from its Royal author, was published *cum privilegio regia majestatis*, with a Royal privilege from his Majesty; and of what force the Kings Prerogative is in such Ecclesiastical affairs, I leave to those to dispute, who allow many things in publick Worship, without authority from it, or indeed, without any other sanction.

But perhaps, what many others, as well as my self, would perswade, might we be heard, touching this Version of King *James's*, or any other to come in the room of that usual, may be a good while unpracticable: and therefore, all the redress we can at present expect in this behalf, must be from the Ministers of the respective Parishes, by their picking and culling out what is fittest for their peoples devotion, and instructing them in the due use

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use thereof. Commonly it may not be expedient to take a whole Psalm as it lies, but here and there a verse: and though possibly, some people would not endure the introducing of a Translation wholly new, yet the altering sometimes a word or two, may a little polish the style, and advance the sense, and by this means, some small amendment of the singing-Psalms may be effected.

The next step must be to tune the peoples voices into some *Decorum*, or tolerable harmony, that the Praises of God may be sung so, as not to make a great number Loath the performance: and for this purpose, there is not any better mean than an Organ, which it were to be wished in all richer Parishes were provided; nor would it be a matter of so great difficulty or expence, as is generally conceived. But, because this can be had onely in some few Parishes, we must turn our thoughts to what other methods we can devise. And in the first place, let care be taken, that such a person begin the tuning of the Psalm, as has himself a tunable
and

and harmonious voice, which may a little set the people in: Then let some others who will keep tune tolerably, be placed at meet distances, whose voices may be a kind of guide and government to the rest. And if there are any (as in most Congregations there are some) who squeak, or bawl, or otherwise by indecent voices, disturb the rest, let those people be privately admonished by the Ministers, not so much quite to desist from singing (for their hearts may be good) as to sing softly, and little above a whispering tone, to be heard chiefly by God and themselves. Lastly, let the mothers, or those women, who attend the little children in the respective families of the Parish when they first begin to prattle and harp at tunes, be privately encouraged to teach them some short Psalms, and the tunes of Psalms: for these persons many of them have fine pleasing voices, naturally musical, and delight too in the using them; and withal, children generally delight in singing: now, why should we not herein imitate the antient Christians, of whom

whom we have above spoken, and breed our Children in their tender years to have the praises of *God* and *Christ* in their mouths? Every Ministers discretion will add to these methods, wherefore I am the briefer in them; and by care and diligence herein, we may, by degrees, improve our parochial assemblies into a more decent course of singing.

I cannot conceive, I need to say much to perswade any of my Brethren, incumbent on cures, to this endeavour. For, though as to singing to God, that, which we are chiefly to design, is that our Congregations sing *with understanding*, and *grace* in their hearts, yet there being a *bodily* Worship due to God as well as a *spiritual* one, and gravity, seriousness and decency being necessary therein, and withall, an harmonious concert of the voices of the people being a very great furtherance of such inward affection, as ought to be imployed in singing, there is no truly conscientious Pastour, but will concern himself, that the *outward manner* of singing be such in his Congregation,

S. c. 9.

as becomes the *majesty* of that God whom we worship, and may most *tend* to the raising that *devotion* which we owe. And such persons I hope will please to consider further, that it is not meerly the outward manner of singing, the redress of which (where faulty) I have presumed to commend to their care and prudence, but also the *unmeet matter and form* of what is sung. Hath it not been made evident, that from the very beginning of Christianity, and even under Judaism it self, singing praise unto God was ever esteemed a principal & most acceptable part of his Worship? And can we, whose business it is by way of office, to minister, & conduct others, in the publick Worship of God, justifie less care in the *praise* of God, than in *praying* to him? How comes it to be a less solemn act of Worship to *praise* God, than to pray, to sing than supplicate? Of the two, it is certainly the more noble: and there is nothing on earth so like Heaven, as a Christian assembly sweetly joining with hearts & voices, & singing the Divine praises in the solemn and dedicated places of
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Worship. Why then shall the directing and managing this Office, be permitted to a Parish Clerk, an ignorant Laick, which indeed deserves to employ the wisdom of an Angel? If we would not trust him to direct a Prayer for us before Sermon, why should we trust him to choose Psalms for us? Especially, when all circumstances being considered, 'tis ten to one but he chooseth unluckily. I hope there are very few amongst us much negligent herein; but if any of us be, seeing the negligence is every way inexcusable, and most unworthy of our Office, let us not continue it any one instance more: For we may be well assured, that it will both inhanche our own guilt, and trash our peoples devotion; and it is no better than an affronting the Majesty of God in one of the noblest parts of his Worship.

I have thus, with all freedom and sincerity, spoke my thoughts in this other great *Christian Office*. I am well assured, the ends I proposed to myself are such, as I shall not be ashamed to own at that Tribunal, where, the

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most secret designs of all men shall become publick: yet I am not unsensible, but there will be found some, who will judge I have strangely overshot my self in censuring (or acknowledging to be censurable) several particulars, which are quietly, and, as some may suppose, laudably practised in our Church. Nor will they, or others perhaps, thank me ('tis well if either will pardon me) for my severity against want of sober Christian knowledge and seriousness in a certain sort of men. I must acknowledge my self of the mind of these people, who had rather rectifie any thing which they see obnoxious (though not actually taxed) than persist in and applaud, what it is difficult to defend: And, if I have been guilty of any harsh expression touching any things or persons in this behalf, it is truly my zeal for the honour and interest of our Church, that has transported me thereinto. I would not have it said, that a Church, whose reformation is the most accomplished precedent in the Christian World (in the very judgment of Forreigners) should

should be outdone by any probable pretences to a more rational and spiritual sort of lauding God, than what is in practice with her. I have not censured any thing, which is in use by any of her Laws, as far as I know. What little redresses or alterations in any case I have projected, I trust I have shewn to be every way congruous to Antient and Present Ecclesiastical constitutions, as well as to right Reason, natural Equity, and the general Rules of Holy Scripture. Did I know any thing here in contrary to any Law or determination of our Church, I should either expunge it, or lay aside the whole for the sake of what were Heterodox, and not conform to those Rules which the Church gives us, and to which I heartily submit my self, promising to revoke any thing I have written, if I shall be convinced of any discrepancy thereinto the Doctrine or allowed practice of our Church, or to the great end of advancing true & spiritual Devotion.

In the mean while as the severest expressions, which have fallen from my Pen, to my best remembrance, are le-

veld against *meer lip-labour*, and contenting our selves with outward Melodies, when the heart is no whit at all engaged in the divine praise, so I profess I see no reason to repent of them, or desire them back again: but I rather think I ought to resume my concerns in that regard, and to conclude with fresh and earnest importunity to all, of what rank soever in our Quires, whether the Dignitaries which preside, or the Composers, or Performers, that each in their order will, both for the Peoples and our Churches, and even for their own sakes be of Gods mind, by all their Art and Power designing above all the *melody of the heart*, and preferring this to any Opinionative skill, or fancies of their own. Such fancies may do prettily elsewhere: Quaint divisions, sporting shakes and Trills have a meeter place. It has ever been accounted of most dangerous nature to *sport in holy things*. Wherefore, in the Name of God, let both all our *sacred performances*, and even our *outward gestures* in this the discharge of our Office, express all gravity, se-

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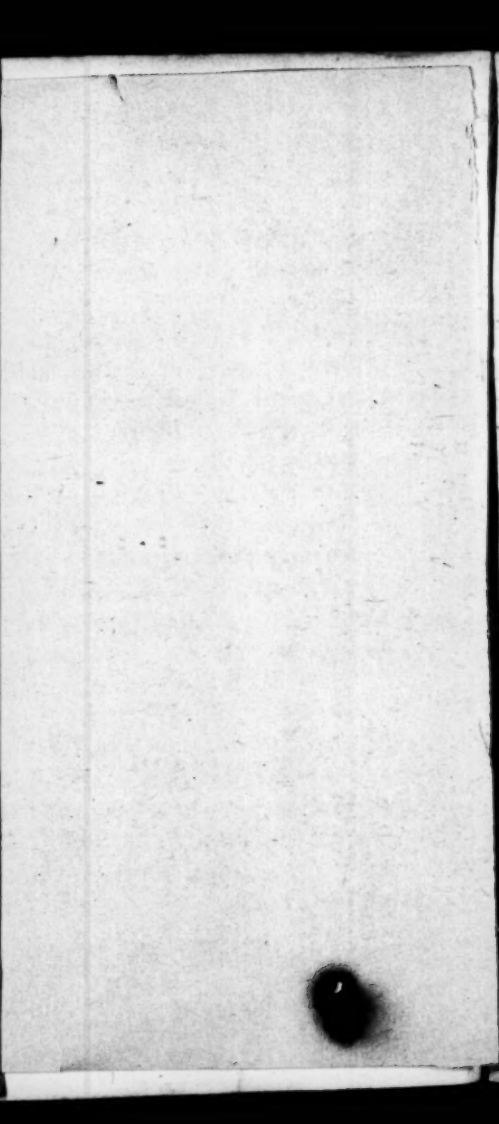
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riousness and devotion : the contrary interrupts , disturbs , and , in a sort , profanes both our own and others devotion ; besides , that it brings inevitable scandal on our selves , and on the very service we are employed in. It is a glorious Character we meet with of the Jewish Quire in the days of *Hzekiah*, *2 Chron. XXIX, 34.* *The Levites did help them [viz. the Priests, whom, by their Office indeed , they were to serve , as being inferiour to them] till the work was ended , and until other Priests had sanctified themselves : for the Levites were more upright in heart to sanctifie themselves , than the Priests :* And, shall the Jewish Quire outdo us even in *Spirituals* too? In a word , we see how reasonable , how antient , how pious, divine and Heavenly the whole constitution of our Quires is. As therefore, on the one hand , we ought not to be shaken in our profession and way of Worship , by the Cavils of dissenting and humourfome (though well-meaning) men , so neither must we content our selves herein , that we are in the possession of a Worship, outwardly most good-

goodly, and established by Law; but to employ the utmost intention of understanding, will and affections therein, *which is our reasonable Service*. God and his Church have provided we shall *sing with the spirit*, the manner of our singing being with *Art* (a common gift of the spirit of wisdom) and the matter sung generally of *divine inspiration*. Let us take care we *sing with the understanding*, and *in the Holy Ghost*. Then shall our Psalms be unto him a sweet smelling savour: Our *Prayers* and our *Praise* shall be set forth before him as *incense*, and the *lifting up* of our hands as *the Evening sacrifice*. He shall meet us and bless us, and that *in the beauty of holiness*; & in *holiness & beauty* we will again praise him. We will praise him till he shall catch us up to meet himself, & till we shall be ever with him: and then too we will sing and praise him again; we will then sing and praise him better, and world without End.

Amen, Hallelujah.

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OF THE
OFFICE
AND
DUTY
OF
Preaching.

In nostro Opere aliquando cavendum est Scandalum proximi, aliquando pro Nihilo contemnendum.— Si autem de veritate Scandalum sumitur, utilius permittitur nasci scandalum, quàm veritas relinquatur, *Gregor. Magus: in Ezekiel. Homil: 7:*

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OFFICE

Y. C. 110

NUMBER 2

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Of the Office and Duty of
Preaching.

C H A P. I.

Of the Nature of our present *Preaching*, and its *Difference* from that spoken of in *Scripture*.

Sect. 1. Different Judgments as to the Nature and Necessity of our present Preaching. Sect. 2. The Heads of this Discourse attempered thereto. Sect. 3. An Entrance upon the First Head, by considering what Preaching the Gospel signifies in the N. Testament. Sect. 4. The difference between Preaching the Gospel, Teaching, and Prophecy. Sect. 5. What was most peculiar to that First preaching. Sect. 6. There neither is, nor reasonably can be imagined, will be in the present or future ages, any such Preaching of the Gospel, as that in Scripture. Sect. 7. The Nature and frame of our Present Sermons Sect. 8. The name of preaching taken in a new Notion, when applied thereto. Sect. 9. The main particulars of the Difference

between our Preaching, and that spoken of in Scripture. Sect. 10. What pretences there may be at present to the Gift. Sect. 11. The summe of the whole.

IN relation to what we now call *Preaching*, the sentiments of all sorts who pretend to be serious in Religion (to which sort of men onely I design these discourses) may be reduced to three Heads.

As the *First* of which I will set, the *Fancy* of those men, who seem to make *Preaching*, in a manner, the whole *business* of the *Ministry*, and *Hearing* all the *Religion* of the *People*: As if to be a sincere and zealous Christian, were onely to be *Ever learning*, and *never to come to the knowledge of the truth*; to have *itching ears*, and a confused head, and an unstable heart. With these men to have heard a *Sermon* is much the same, as with the *Papists* to have heard a *Mass*: and however they are usually great pretenders to, and admirers of *Gifts* and the *Spirit*, yet the most of them have but a very mean share

share of sober sense and reason,

The second Opinion is of a more solid sort, who having observed the great mischief, that some kind of *Preaching* has done, could be very well content to have a general restraint of that arbitrary exercise hereof, which all Ministers take; and supposing that they had constantly the *publick prayers* and the *Scriptures* read, and now and then an *Homily* or two for the Generality, and the Catechism for their children (all which, I here make known, I am far from slighting) they would complain of no scarcity of spiritual food: but as to commonly new Sermons (though something for state and greater solemnity they would allow to Bishops, and great Doctors, in more eminent Churches, and at certain seasons) commonly new Sermons, I say, they conceive generally useless, if not pernicious. These men mean well, but the estate of our Church, and the manners of our people would be very ill consulted, should their advice take. The World will not now be perswaded, that the Ministry need no personal abilities

ties or gifts of their own , or that, having them , they are not to use them. There are men of very different principles, who will tell us to our faces, that if all our Ministry lye in the Reading to the people certain Offices , and Old fashioned *Elſayes* , from the Book , they are as well qualified for our function as we , and can discharge it as well , if not better, than many of us ; and that *we take too much upon us* in pretending otherwise. Now , though haply we may not be able to stop all such peoples mouths, do we what we can, or preach we never so often , or so well , yet it is not fit they should have so plausible a plea against us, as this amounts to.

The third is the judgment of those , who hold the *middle* between these two *Extremes* : and though they are as little fond of whimsies , novelties or changes , and as much admirers of our Churches institutions , as most men are, or any need to be , yet considering the *Genius* and manners of the age , and together the state of the Church , as of a Vessel afloat between two Gulfs (the wind , that blew her in , must blow her

her forth, and keeper thence) they conceive the Pulpit to be one of the most likely means, as well to reform manners, as on both hands to secure our Church. There is indeed a difference betwixt what preaching the Gospel was at first, and what we call preaching now, as we shall presently see; and 'tis not impossible, there may be a multitude of pretended Gospel-preachers (an obstreperous, unreasonable and importunate Nation, that will neither speak sense and truth, nor hold their tongue) who cry out there is *Necessity laid upon them* to preach, when really there is, and long has been, a publick *Expediency*, if not necessity, that the most of them were silenced, or sent to try that spirit of power, which they pretend to, in a way which seems to need inspiration: But yet as to this, which at present we call preaching, such of it, as is according to truth, holiness and sobriety, there are many crave the pardon of deeper judgments, if they think, and publickly profess, there is a *Necessity* both that it should be, and that it

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should

should be frequent ; and *wo* be to our Religion, when such Preaching failes, or grows more rare.

Scd. 2. To promote sound Understanding and Christian temper in a matter, which is now become so great a part of Religious Service, as the present Preaching is, I humbly crave to be heard with a sedate, unprejudiced and even mind, while I present a sober, and I hope, a modest discourse on these Heads, which I conceive the different senses of men, now mentioned, make necessary to be discussed. Namely (1.) Whether the *Preaching of the Gospel*, spoken of in Scripture, and *Gospel-preaching*, or what we call at present in usual speech *Preaching*, differ? And supposing there be a difference, in what points mainly that lies? (2.) Of what *authority* then *our present Preaching is*? (3.) On what *occasion*, and by what *means* and *degree*, this diversity has come into the Church? (4.) What *Necessity* any men, in truth and reason, may plead, lies upon them to *preach*, as at present we understand *Preaching*? And Lastly, what in probability would be the mischiefs

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chiefs ensuing, in case what we now call Preaching should grow into disuse, or be generally restrained in ordinary Congregations? And I trust in the management of each of these, none shall have reason to complain of my want of temper.

For satisfaction to the first of these, it will be necessary to consider, What *preaching the Gospel* strictly signifies in the New Testament, and then to reflect on what that *preaching* is, which we have in present practice. Sect. 3.

As to the strict importance of this Phrase in the New Testament, there can no notion be more certainly made out by the very Letter of Scripture, than that *preaching the Gospel* signifies the publishing, proclaiming or making known the Christian doctrine to people, who at the time of such *preaching* had not received, or perhaps heard of, Christianity. Thus the words which are rendred *preaching*, and the perpetual use of them, as well in the holy as in common Writers, most plainly prove. κηρυγματι is the most usual word for *preaching*, answering the Hebrew מְדַבֵּר, whence

whence it seems derived: now both in the Old Greek of the *Septuagint*, and in our New Testament, it signifies to proclaim or publish any decree, law, or other matter of publick concernment, as an *Herald* at Armes does in the way of his Office. In the case of *Joseph's* advancement, when he had interpreted *Ibaraok's* dream, and, as an especial honour done him, was made to ride in the second Chariot Royal, *Ἐκράβηεν Ἐμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ἡ κρήνη*. *They cried before him*, saies our English, or word for word if we keep the same style, *The cryer cried before him*; but that way of speech seems not to be artificial enough, nor to observe due *Decorum*. The title to be proclaimed before him was *מלך The Kings Father*, according to that *Chap. XLV, 8. God hath made me a Father to Pharaoh: Now, a Cryer, or Bell-man, does not use to go on such a service, but some principal Officer at Armes. And in the case of *Jonah and Niniveh*, *Jon. I, 2. Go to Niniveh that great City, and cry against it.* *Κράβηεν καὶ κήρυμα*. Make proclamation, summon it to yield. Then*

Vid: pa-
raphr.
Chald:
Targ:
Hierof:
& Jo-
nath.
Ben.
uziel.
& Hei-
ronym.
quest.
Hebr.

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Then upon the Cities repentance, *Cha. III, 5. They believed God, and proclaimed a fast.* ^{Ἐκπρόσθεν Ναυαίης.} In Homer's Greek, elder than this, ^{Κεῖναις ἀναγγεῖν} *ἀναγγεῖν* is, as by Proclamation, to summon the *Gracians* to Council. And according to such use, do we find the word put in the New Testament. *Whatsoever is done in secret,* ^{καὶ ὑποσώφει,} *shall be proclaimed upon the House top:* see too *Revel. V. 2. &c.* Now this being in Authours of all sorts the import of this word, when we find it put into the Apostles commission to preach, as it is expressly *Mar. XVI, 15.* as also when we find it used in the Historical reports of what they did by way of execution of their Commission, and in other like cases, we can reasonably interpret it no otherwise.

The other word ordinarily rendred by *preaching the Gospel*, and used in that eminent, but much abused Text of the Apostle, *1 Cor. IX, 16.* is ^{Ἐκπρόσθεν} *ἐκπρόσθεν*. This signifies indeed something more, namely, to proclaim, or bring good tidings; but it still imports the notion of New, (for what was known before,

Luk:
xii. 3.

cannot well be called *tideings*) as well as of *good* and *publisht*. So that by the notation of this word also, *To preach the Gospel*, will be to publish the glad tideings of happiness and peace, through the blood of Jesus, to such to whom this doctrine is new.

Sec. 4. There are indeed other words of frequent use in the New Testament, which seem to be allied hereto, those I mean, of *teaching* Christ Jesus, and of *prophesying*: But the Learned have alwaies observed as great a difference, as my discourse designs, betwixt these terms; and that difference evidently grounded in the Texts, where the words are used, *Acts* v. 42. *They ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ*: and *ch. XV*, 35. *They continued at Antioch, teaching and preaching the Word of the Lord*: *Teaching* it to the Church, or Faithful; *Preaching* it to the *Jews* and *Heathen*, who believed it not. And this propriety of speech is expressly observed by the Apostle, where professing his zeal for propagating the Gospel, he reckons up many of his Travels to that purpose, and avows that *He strived to preach*

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preach the Gospel where Christ was ^{Rom:} not yet named, that he might not build ^{15 02} on anothers foundation. Whence we evidently see the difference betwixt *Evangelists* and *Teachers*: the former were persons taken in by the Apostles to their assistance in converting infidels, the later persons settled in Churches, to instruct the Faithful for further edification and growth.

Very near a kin hereto were those called *prophets* in the inspired daies; nay certainly many of the *Teachers* or *Doctours* were also *Prophets*, that is, had the gift of *propheying*, in the sense wherein the New Testament mainly uses that term, and as it signifies *interpreting* or *expounding* the more difficult parts of the *Prophets* or O'd Testament, and thence demonstrating Christian Religion. *Act: XIII, 1.* There were in Antioch certain persons, belonging to the Church, *Prophets and Teachers*, as the Greek Text naturally is to be rendred. And *chap. XV, 32.* Judas and Silas being prophets also themselves, exhorted the brethren in many words, and confirmed them, as to the grand Quez-

tion touching Circumcision and Jewish Ceremonies. If these persons had been onely prophets, we should scarce have found them in this great Council of the Apostles; we may therefore conclude them also *Governours*, or *Teachers*, or both. Besides, those, who have little kindness for Bishops, will allow *Exhortation* to be chiefly the work of the Pastor, and confirming the brethren in the Christian Doctrine, the work properly of the Doctor or Teacher. And what could this *confirming of the brethren* here spoken of be, but, after the Apostles had delivered their sentence, these mens arguing from the Scriptures of the Old Testament (the great Topicks likely to take with Jews) touching the reasonableness and agreeableness of the decree. So that we must allow, both that many *Teachers* were also *prophets* (for what should hinder more gifts than one to be incident, or concur in the same person? Or, what gift more fitly qualifying a person to be a *Teacher* in the Church, than that of *propheying* in this notion?) and that *propheying* in the New Testament,

Chap. I. Duty of Preaching. 589

ment signifies interpreting Scriptures, as abovesaid; though (as the learned Dr. *Hammond* notes) not excluding, but containing sometimes the gift of foretelling things to come, as we read of *Agabus* and others. That this contended for is the main sense, wherein prophesying is to be taken, as thereby we mean a certain *Gift* or *Office* in the inspired Church, is most plain from the whole *XIV. Chapter* of the first to the *Corinthians*, and from diverse other places of *St. Paul's Epistles* on the same subject, too long and too many now to insist on. That this may reasonably enough be stiled prophesying, is evident from hence, because supposing the interpretation given, consonant to the Scriptures, it is but delivering the same Doctrine that the Prophets did, onely removing the obscurities, and making the Vision plainer; a kind of continuation and perfecter advance of their Office. And this, the case of *Daniel*, as to the seventy years, will most satisfactorily evince. *Jeremiah* had predicted, that after *seventy years were accomplished*, God would *punish the King* Jer. 25.
12.

Cap.
29.Dan: 9,
1, 2.

of Babylon, and that Nation, and the Land of the Chaldeans, for their iniquity; and that he would visit his people who were Captives there, and cause them to return to Jerusalem: The discovery of the Period of these *seventy years*, and ascertaining their accomplishment, from that particular occurrence, of *Darius*, son of *Abasuerus*, of the seed of the Medes, being made King over the Chaldeans (which was a punishment of *Babylon*, and of the former King thereof, the Kingdom being translated from the *Chaldees* to the *Medes*) was a Prophetical act in *Daniel*, or a particular instance of the prophetick spirit in him, as well as many other passages of his, which needed a second *Daniel* to interpret them. And yet this was onely an interpretation of Scripture, for he himself saies he understood it by books, namely, out of the prophesie of *Jeremy*, which was at that time extant in scriptis, and in the hands of the Jewish Church. To alledge modern Authorities for this sense were endless, the whole stream of interpreters in a manner running this way: I shall therefore

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fore content my self onely with an Emphatical one out of the Antients. The Authour of the Commentaries ascribed to St. Ambrose, whom though Bellarmine is pleased to account an Heretick, yet he allows to be of the same age with St. Ambrose, writes thus. *Prophetas dicit interpretes Scripturarum: sicut enim propheta futura prædicit, quæ nesciuntur, ita & hic dum Scripturarum sensum qui multis occultus est manifestat, dicitur prophetare*; " By prophets he " understands interpreters of the Scri- " ptures: for as of old the prophet " foretold things not known, so the " Expositor while he opens the sense of " scripture, which is hidden to many, " is said to prophesie. This indeed is the fullest passage I meet with there, but the same sense frequently occurs in this authour, and even upon this same Chapter. But of this sort of prophets, we shall have occasion to touch again hereafter; and what we have said already, may amply suffice as a foundation, whence to discover a wide difference betwixt the first sort of preaching, and that, so called, in present use.

Ambros
in 1. ad
Corin.
14.

To return more closely to the point in hand, there is nothing that I know remains to make up the full and adequate notion of what the Scripture means by preaching the Gospel, but what we may collect from a brief view of the Commission and Powers given to those who were sent to preach it at first. Their *Commission* was, *Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. He that believes, and is baptized, shall be saved; and he that believes not shall be damned.* These Preachers had the world for their Diocese; and our Lords thus commanding them forth thereinto, was their *Outward call*. Then as to the *powers* or *internal accomplishments* they went out with, those were immediately from Heaven. *Tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem, till ye be indued with power from on high.* In plain terms they were possessed of extraordinary and immediate inspiration; as elder Brothers, of a double or manifold portion of the spirit; by virtue whereof, whatever they delivered by *word of mouth*, was as *infallibly truth* and *Gospel*, as what they left consigned in

mar. 16
15. 26.

Luc.

11. 19.

Chap. I. Duty of Preaching. 593.

in their writings. And though there may be just question, whether that *Philip*, who *Preached Christ* to *Samaria*, were *Philip* the Apostle, or rather the Deacon (*Acts* VI.) and so, whether he had that immediate outward mission before said to have belonged to the first Preachers of the Gospel, yet, as I make no question, but all will allow him to have been an *Evangelist*, so I am sure there can be no doubt of his being immediately inspired; for so much the sequel in the History of him, relating to the Eunuch, doth manifestly evince: Besides that it is certain, *Samaria* at the time of his Preaching had not received the Faith. So that we are still inforced to conclude these two points peculiar to the first and proper preaching the Gospel, Divine inspiration for the assistance of the Preacher, & Infidels, or which is much the same, Jewes, for his Auditors: and truly I see little reason not to admit the third also, of an *extraordinary commission*: for, supposing the first and onely proper Preachers of the Gospel, to have been either Apostles or Evangelists, there is none of sobriety,

Acts:
VIII. 5.

vid:
Acts: 21.
8.

will

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will not easily allow their *mission* or
commission extraordinary.

In summe then, the Preaching of the
Gospell spoken of so oft in the New
Testament, at least that *Preaching*, to
which St. Paul said there lay a *Necessity*
upon him, was a Publication of Christi-
anity to the Unbelieving world, and
that pursuant to an unlimited Com-
mission (and by the infallible conduct
of the Holy Ghost) given immediatly
by Christ Jesus. And I shall not con-
ceive, I need to concern my self
in saying any more for the proof
hereof.

By what is said, it plainly appears,
there neither is at present, nor except
immediate Inspiration should returne,
can hereafter be, any proper preaching
of the Gospell in the World. That
which comes next to it is the publick
Reading the Gospells to those, who as
yet know them not; for they are in-
fallibly Truth and Gospel: Thus the
reading Moses in the synagogue is (a
little Catachrestically) termed Preaching
him. *Acts: XV. 21. Moses of old time*
bath

Chad. I. Duty of Preaching. 593.

hath in every City them that preach him,
being read in the Synagogue every Sabbath-
day. And next to that, The publication
of Christianity, in sense and terms as
agreeable as may be to scripture, either
to Jewes, Indians, or such unbelievers,
who never yet so much as professed to
own the Doctrine of Jesus. Now
though both of these may with good
colour of reason be Styled Preaching
the Gospell, yet it is evident, neither
of them comes up to that first Apostoli-
call performance in this kind, which,
as we have said, can only be accounted
the proper Preaching of the Gospell,
commonly spoken of in Scripture.

And Now to reflect upon the preach- S. & 7.
ing in *Present* practice with us, and to
take our Measures from Sermons, which
deservedly we may account sober,
Learned and Pious: They are discourses
of this nature. The Preacher (as we
call him) First, truly in the Fear of God &
with good conscience, as he must answer
it to the All-seeing God at the great
day, considers the temper and quality
of the people, whom he is to instruct,
what from time to time may be most
F f f f 2 necessary

necessary and profitable forth them, to make them sound in the Faith, upright in Heart, zealous of good workes, sober and peaceable. Such subjects being still found out and chosen, he bethinks himself of a place of scripture, whence he may be able most naturally methodically, fully and perspicuously to deduce such matter as he has to discourse on that Subject: he reads both upon the Subject and Text, he meditates; *Hoc amat, hoc spernit* - He sometimes sees fit to change his first choice of Text, method, &c: and at length having resolved, as he judges, to best advantage, he sets upon the framing of his discourse, disposing and modelling his matter, as he thinks most convenient for edifications possibly, first propounding his *design*, shewing how his Text is *pertinent* thereto, and to that purpose giving perhaps account of its *connexion*, fixing its *meaning*, making such *Partitions* as he pleases, or it admits: He speaks to each as opportunity serves, *Stating* *proving*, *arguing*, from *scripture*, from *reason*, from *authorities* of Fathers, Councils or others. In the end, he ende-

de.

Chap. I. Duty of Preaching. 597.

deavours to bring all *home* to mens *Conscienc*es; either *Expostulating* and pleading with them in the behalf of God, or *Reproving*, *Exhorting*, *Directing*, *Encourageing*, as the matter best will bear, or as he sees most needfull. And all along he cloathes each part with such *Expressions* and *Ornaments of speech*, which he hopes may give his matter most advantage. Is it not plain that this, or some such as this (for I concern not my selfe as to those little particularities of method, which some Divines use, or have prescribed) is the constitution & structure of our present Sermons?

Sec. 8

Now of a discourse contrived and framed after this manner, or any better one that wee may conceive, what can we say? Can we call this *Preaching the Gospell*, in the true scripture-notion of the phrase? We cannot certainly: For, as it is an *Explication* of scripture, if of the old Testament applied to Christianity, it is properly, as we have seen, what the first Christians meant by *Propheying*; and if of the New Testament, it is still

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(at least Analogically) *Propheſying* ; nor is there any ſcripture-term ſo properly applicable to it : As it handles or entreats of any particular Chriſtian Doctrinè , it is *Teaching* or *Doctrinè* : As it contains what we call the applicatory part, it is *Exhortation* , *Reproof* , *Conſolation* , or the like ; which by way, of Office of old particularly belonged to the Biſhops or Paſtors of the particular Churches reſpectively. So that our *Preaching* , as it is at preſent exerciſed , takes in the work of primitive Prophets, Teachers, and Biſhops or Paſtors: but yet , neither is any one of theſe, nor all in conjunction, the Publication of Chriſtianity to Infidel People ; for they all rather ſuppoſe Chriſtianity received, and are accommodated to edification of profeſſors, not to the Conversion of aliens. The name of preaching then, as it is at preſent given to our Sermons, or may be verified of them , muſt be acknowledged to have become a *Term of art* and to ſignify a *New* , and clear another thing , than it did in the firſt intencion and institution of the word.

1. cor.
14. 6,
26.

For

For the difference is great and in many regards. First, the Subject matter is *Particular* in our Sermons, viz. this or that point of Faith, or matter of Practice: The subject matter to them who Preached the Gospel was *General*, Christian Religion; to tell men what it was, and to perswade them to it, takeing the best occasions and advantages they could for every thing, and confineing themselves no further to any, than they saw reason from particular circumstances, and the quality of the hearers. Sect. 9.

Secondly, in respect of the manner of handling, there are many points of difference might be insisted on. Their preaching was *Natural*, loose and unpremeditate; Ours *Artificial*, methodicall and studied: But chiefly theirs was brief, Various, and Interlocutory. They continued their speech, usually, but a very short space, and then fell off, as their auditours gave them occasion into disputes and reasonings with them, answering, *pro re nata*, their demands, Objections, Doubts. Our discourses are *Sett*, as neer as we can

can Even, continued a considerable time, and I fear, as some auditours too often judge, tedious. As to particular doubts and questions, we must and do answer them in private: Respect to the assembly, and it may be to the very persons, that propose them, permit not that this be done, neither alwayes nor ordinarily, in the Congregation.

Thirdly, there is yet a greater difference in regard of the *Principle*, by which the Preachers are supposed to be acted. They were assisted immediately by an infallible spirit, so that all they spoke was Gospel; and therefore they might require absolute belief and submission: we have indeed the *same sure word of Prophecy* as they had, but that onely recorded in Scripture. Our Argumentations & deductions from thence are onely by the strength of reason improved by study, observation, converse, prayer & the Ordinary assistance of the Holy Ghost upon all these: and they are so far from onely certaine, as they agree with scripture and the Analogy of Faith; nor do we urge them further upon mens consciences,

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consciences, than we can approve them such. Then as to the applicatory part, they of old had that wonderful gift of the *discerning of spirits*, and by this undoubtedly knew many times how to direct their discourses to the hearts and particular state of their hearers. We can proceed onely upon common acquaintance with people, credible information, and very often our own prudential Conjectures, and therefore must needs in a great measure shoot at a peradventure.

1 Cor.
12. 10.
Act. 3.
21, 22.

Fourthly, the Auditors, and immediate design, are very different. To the primitive preachers of the Gospel, as we have already observed, the auditors were generally infidels, Jewes, Greeks, Barbarians: To us real, or professed Christians. They were to suppose their hearers strangers from, or enemies to the Truth: We are guilty of an un-Christian sin, call'd uncharitableness, if we think ours such. Ours are as truly of Gods Family, as our selves; for ought we know, many of them as sincere Christians, or however, of different proficiency, yet

602 Of the Office and Chap. I.
all baptized with us into the same Faith. The thing designed by them, was the bringing their auditories over to Christianity: We finding ours generally Christian, can onely build them up in our most *Holy Faith*, the profession whereof they have already undertaken.

Lastly, There is a difference also, and that very great, in our very mission and sphere of action. The Preachers of the Gospel, in the Scripture notion, were sent either immediately by Christ with a Commission to preach to *All Nations* for the gathering *Disciples* all the world over; Μαθητεύσας πάντα τὰ ἔθνη and when they had preached a while in one place with such success, as to gain any considerable number of *Profelytes*; were to run into another (having frequently immediate revelations to this purpose) and so leaving onely a *Seminary* (that is the faithful, whom they had converted, formed into a little Church, little comparatively to ours at present) were to take the world before them. Or where the Apostles themselves could not go, the inspiration which was in them.

Matth.
etc.

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themselves directed them to send other inspired persons, who were plentifully in their Company, and to whom, the Holy Ghost guiding them herein, they gave Commissions, as they saw fit, as large often as their own. Of this sort, and of such authority were they, whom the Scripture saith to have preached the Gospel. Whereas we are sent immediately by the Church onely, and but immediately by Christ, without any pretence of inspiration in the persons immediately sending or sent, and our Walk is limited and appointed us; we are to have the charge of such or such a Flock, and to move onely within our allotted Verge.

There might possibly have been assigned several other points of difference, but I presume these the principal, and amply sufficient to my design. Onely I must acknowledge there is one sort of *Preaching*, called commonly, but cantingly, *Gospel-preaching*, the difference of which, from the scripture notion of *preaching the Gospel*, I have not yet stated. *Gospel-preaching* some men call that, which is opposite to the

G g g g 2 teach.

teaching men their duty. If a man cry up *Antinomian Free-grace*, if he proclaim the favour of God, and pardon of sin, and promise men Heaven through Christs blood, without any regard to that part of the Covenant of Grace, which concerns us on our side, without any engaging them to an Holy and Christian life, if he extol a resolute Faith, and no need of any thing but casting our selves (even blind-fold) into the arms of Christ, this is *Gospel-preaching*: Whereas he, who tells men, it is non-sense to talk of a Covenant, wherein there is not some part on both sides, and that the blood of Christ operates not to the pardon or salvation of those men, who, by ungodly and impenitent lives, put themselves out of the Covenant of Grace, this man is onely a *Legal preacher*. Now truly such *Gospel preaching* as this, differs from *preaching the Gospel*, just as *Christ* does from *Antichrist*: 'Tis the preaching another and contrary Gospel, and if any of those men, who thus *preach* or thus *believe*, come to Heaven, it must be by leading better lives, than their principles

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ples induce them to. But to return from these extravagants.

By what we have already said, we are able to make a judgment of the pretence to the *Gift* of preaching, a thing that has made so much noise in late years. If we take Preaching in the strict sense, wherein the Scripture uses the term, to pretend to a gift thereof, is to pretend to qualification for an Office not in being in the present Church: Again, if we take the name in the new and more improper notion, the Gift thereof must import, not what the pretenders are Masters of, a little Theological *Lullianism*, or ability to prate endlessly on Holy matters that we understand not, but a sober insight into Scripture and Divinity, both Controversial and Practical, and to that purpose good skill in Tongues, Logick, Rhetorick, History, and great variety of other Arts and Sciences; and superadded to all these, a faculty of clear expression in each. For in the form of our present Sermons, we observed to concur *Prophecie*, *Doctrine*, and Pastoral *Application* of all, according to the

S. 10.

nature of the matter, and circumstances of Time, Hearers, and the like; in which last part, the great business being to perswade, it is not speculative and slight, but the most practised and profound Oratory, that will stand in stead: Now where are those meely Gifted men, that can shew any considerable share in all these faculties? It is true indeed, in the Miraculous age, *and Χρησταις*, the *Preachers* properly so called, the *Prophets*, *Teachers* and *Pastors* too, many of them, did all by Gift. As there were inspired *Poets*, according to what we have above discoursed, so were there also inspired *Linguists*, *Oratours*, *Disputants*, & what not? But amongst all the pretenders to gifts in the present age, where ever yet was found the man, who having not learnt Tongues by usual means, was able to read the Hebrew or Greek Testament into English? And yet when Gifts were really in the Church; the *interpretation of Tongues* (which, say the Learned, had a particular reference to that of the Hebrew) was amongst the number, and as ordinary as that of

prof.

Chrys.
in 1. ad
Corin.
Hom.
36.

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propheſie, Doctrine or Exhortation.

Where then would our Gifted Brethren have been, had not the deep ſtudy of ſome men, which way they judge themſelves to much above, furniſhed them with Tranſlations? And yet after all the advantages of Tranſlations, Comments, and even Analyſes of the Bible in Engliſh, after ſo great plenty of Treatiſes on all parts of Divinity, and of Sermons every day from the Pulpit, what miſerable ſtuffe is it, our meerly Gifted Brethren vent in this kind? They are to be much lamented, if themſelves are not ſenſible of it. Yet this very faculty which they have, what is it but an Ordinary and mean habit of talking, acquired by a certain unartificial kind of Education, and their own practice thereon, as before ſaid in the Diſcourſe of the Gift of Prayer. In ſumme, all that may be ſoberly admitted touching any *Gift of preaching* is this: If men will go through a due courſe of Learning by way of preparation, and then ſet themſelves to the regular ſtudy of Divinity, and withall to the practice of it, ſtudying too their own hearts,

up^s

upon this their industry accompanied with their prayers, they shall undoubtedly find such blessing and assistance of the Holy Ghost, that their minds shall by degrees be furnished with Holy knowledge and Counsel, their thoughts refined and lifted above poor and mean *Idea's*, their affections by contemplation of such Notices, as are supposed Treasured up in their souls, habitually warm and active in holy matters, helping much Cogitation and even expression it self. In a word, all their rational faculties will be improved, strengthened and advanced, and the more they exercise themselves, towards, or in, what we call preaching, the greater will be the facility of it to them, and their dexterity therein. Their *two talents* by such use shall become *four*; or their *five*, *ten*. In the meanwhile, here is nothing of an immediate or sudden *Affatus*; all is supposed acquired by rational means: And to expect Gifts otherwise is Idle, fantastical and Enthusiastical; and, either to pretend to them as otherwise come by, or to put our selves on Offices, which

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which require gifts above what Nature furnishes the ordinary sort of men with, when we have no such Gifts, is impudence and sacrilege, a profanation of holy things, and an approach to Blasphemy, in intitling the holy spirit of God to our crudities & presumptions.

Upon the whole, we see the *preaching* spoken of in Scripture, fell onely S. 7. II. into the beginning of Christianity, it being a *publication* of the Gospel to *infidels* by *inspired* persons: and that even in that very *extraordinary* age, when once people were brought to the Faith, the further institution of them was by more ordinary means, and in a more ordinary manner; namely, by *prophe-*
sie, or interpretation of the Scriptures to them, by *Doctrine* or a kind of *Catechistical* or larger exposition of the Faith; the Pastours likewise in every Church did *exhort*, *rebuke with all au-* Tit. 2.
thority. There was ever in the Church 15. an Order of men (though of different degrees and power) whose business it was to *feed the flock of God* wth instructions, counsel and monitions. At present indeed, though we retain the

H h h h

name

name of *preaching* still, yet the thing we call so, is much different from that so called of old, being no such extraordinary performance, but rather made up of those ordinary kinds or modes of institution used in the Church from the very planting of Christianity, all of them being as it were conjoined in our present Sermons; which Office therefore requires not meerly some strength and pregnancy of natural parts, or some superficial knowledge of the Faith, and confident readiness of speech (all which together some men are pleased to call a Gift of Preaching) but Universal learning, deep study, and considerable practice both in godliness as a Christian, and in the methods of communicating knowledge as a Teacher. And such should be the accomplishments of each person to be admitted a *Preacher*, and such our present *Preaching*.

C H A P. I I.

*Of the Authority of our present
Preaching, and how this Difference
came in,*

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Sect. 1. *The second Head proceeded to: and first of the authority of our Office.* Sect. 2. *Different Orders of the Ministry in the inspired Church.* Sect. 3. *Of such Orders as were to be of perpetuity.* Sect. 4. *Of the authority, that is, the certainty or truth of what we teach.* Sect. 5. *A proceeding to the third Head: and first, Of the Occasion which introduced this Difference. 'Tis such as justifies it.* Sect. 6. *Of different modes and methods of preaching. There have been, and ought to be such.* Sect. 7. *Of what Preaching there was in the Old Jewish Church.* Sect 8. *Of what Nature the Apostles Sermons.* Sect. 9. *Of the Sermons or Homilies of the Fathers.* Sect. 10. *The original and continuance of Postills.* Sect. 11. *Of the breaking off of that course, and the introducing the present way, both in the Protestant and Romish Churches.* Sect. 12. *An Apology for the Freedom above used.* Sect. 13. *Corollary touching the reading our Sermons, and Sect. 14. Of modest names to be given to our Sermons.*

Sett. 1. **T**HE Nature of our *present Preaching* being such as acknowledged, it follows that we consider of what *Authority* it is: for possibly being so different from the Apostolical preaching, it may seem to some justly to be little regarded. And here it will be necessary to speak briefly; First, as to the *Right & authority* of our *Office*, & then as to the authority of what we do in discharge of it,

As to the *authority* of our *Office*, or our Commission: We cannot indeed pretend to be *Apostles*, or *Evangelists*, or even *Prophets*, as thereby is meant persons immediately inspired with the faculty of interpreting Scripture; we therefore must not, we do not pretend to such preaching of the Gospel, as was that by those inspired persons. But we do say, our *office* is set down in Scripture under the more ordinary termes of *Pastours* and *Teachers*, and that it was designed such offices should be of perpetuity, or of equal duration with the Church on Earth. We do say further, that even in that extraordinary age, all prophetic, or interpretation
of

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of Scripture, was not by virtue of miraculous and inspired powers, but some (and that not infrequently) by more ordinary skill, acquired through study, converse with those who understood Mysteries, practice, prayer, and like usual means: And nothing hinders but such sort of Prophets and prophesying may still remain in the Church; Nay, it is necessary such sort should remain. Now for the clearer comprehension hereof, it will be necessary we consider in a few words the *different orders* of those who *laboured* in the *Word* and *Doctrine* in those Apostolick and extraordinary dayes.

And though it may not seem easie S. A. 2.
(nor perhaps prudent to undertake)
to define how many different Orders
there then were, yet that there were
different Orders, is most certain. The
Apostle designing to set down for peace
& regularities sake in the Body of Christ,
which is his Church, of what dignity
the several Offices and inspirations in
the Church were, gives us this account
as to the point in hand. 1 Cor., XII.

28. God hath set some in the Church ; First Apostles , secondarily Prophets , Thirdly Teachers. The other , whether gifts or offices , as not so neerly belonging to our present purpose I meddle not with. What the *Apostles* were , we have sufficiently (to our design) spoken already : these had the plenitude of the Holy Ghost and of power (as I may so speak) extraordinary inspiration , and a Commission to preach all the world over. I do not doubt , but those *prophets* mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles , and in St. Paul's Epistles , and particularly in the passages last cited , and said to have then been in the Church , were persons immediately inspired , and that amongst other gifts , especially with the gift of interpreting the Prophecies and Scriptures of the Old Testament , for the happier conversion and confirmation of the Jewes. Out of these I conceive generally the *Evang-
elists* to have been chosen , who were a kind of *secondary* Apostles , inspired persons , taken in by the Apostles to their assistance , and sent abroad indu-
ed with Apostolical power to preach
the

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the Gospel where they themselves could not come (for they could not be every where) and they were most of them, as Antiquity tells us, of the *seventy Disciples*, whom our Lord sent Two and Two before his face. These were all extraordinary, and ceased with that extraordinary state of the Church, and to those onely it did belong properly to preach the Gospel ; for these onely were qualified with an inspiration, which capacitated them thereto.

Luke:
X. 1.

But whoso diligently considers the Apostles discourse in the Twelfth and Fourteenth of the first to the *Corinthians*, will find that there were even in those inspired dayes, *prophets* and *prophesying* of a more ordinary condition than that above mentioned. For *chap. XII, 31*, He conjures them to be *zealous of the best gifts* ; and *chap. XIV, 1*. *Be zealous of spiritual gifts, but rather that ye may prophesie* ; again *ver. 39*. *Be zealous*, that is, earnestly desire and endeavour, *to prophesie* : and in order to the obtaining that ability, as in case of another, *ver. 13*. *Pray*. Upon which passage, saith St. *Chrysostome*, Ταῦτα ἵνα

αὐτὸ ἐκαστὸς ὡς ἰσχύει " Let each do what is in
 " him to obtain such ability: for, saith
 he", it is manifest by the Apostles
 prescribing such means, that it is
 partly in our power to obtain the
 Gifts he speaks of. But the same St. Paul
 is more express to Timothy. Ep. 1. c. IV.
 v. 13, *ῥησέως καὶ διδασκαλίας, &c.* Attend
 to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine:
meditate upon these things, give thy self
wholly to them, that thy profiting may
appear unto all. Now as those were na-
 tural means, things which are not above
 mens natural powers, supposing an or-
 dinary divine concurrence, so that the
 Gifts attained hereby were not always,
 even in those dayes, immediate and su-
 pernatural inspirations, is evident as well
 from the nature of the means, as also from
 the Rules given by the Apostle to the Co-
 rinthians, in the exercise of the abilities
 or Gifts they pretended to, 1 Ep. XIV.
 v. 29, 30, 31, 32. *Let, saith he, the*
prophets speak two or three, and let the
other judge: If any thing be revealed to
another that sitteth by, let the first hold
his peace. For ye may all prophesie (that
 is, all ye who are prophets) *one by*
one,

one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted. And the spirits of the prophets are subject to the spirits of the prophets. Had all of them prophesied by virtue of an immediate and divine inspiration, whatever had been spoken thereby, would not have been to be judged, but to be received and believed, as coming from the infallible spirit. And when he saith, *If any thing be revealed to him that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace*, it is plain he supposeth the person who spoke, not to speak by revelation; for the design of the revelation to him, that sat by, must be to controule, rectifie or explain what the other spoke by ordinary skill, or to some such purpose: wherefore it follows, *The spirit of one is subject in such cases to the spirit of another*, his namely who had not the revelation (at least at that time) to his who then had it. And the Glosse in the forementioned Commentary ascribed to St. Ambrose, is pertinent hereto. *Idcirco dixit subjectus est prophetis, ut ingenia accenderet hac spe, quod spiritus conatus adjuvet.*

“ He therefore said is subject to the spi-

Relig.
Assen.
ch. V.

“*rits of the prophets*, that he might in-
 “*flame their natural powers with this*
 “*hope, that the spirit would help their*
 “*endeavours.* It is further worthily
 observed by the Learned and Venera-
 ble Mr. *Thorndike*, that this command
 of the Apostles to the *Corinthian Con-*
 verts, touching *zealous* pursuit of spi-
 ritual gifts in this method, was occasi-
 oned by what had been the practice of
 the Disciples of the *Prophets* under the
 Old Testament: for those, who are
 so often stiled the *sons of the Prophets*,
 are to be understood onely to have been
 their *Disciples*; and the *Chaldee Para-*
 phrast *Jonathan*, a person well known
 in the Jewish Customs, accordingly ren-
 ders them usually תלמידו נביא *The Dis-*
 ciples of the Prophets. 1 King. XX, 35, &c.
 which was undoubtedly the meaning of
Amos also, when he professeth, *I was*
no prophet, nor the son of a prophet, but
an Herasman, &c. neither a prophet,
 nor a person that gave my self to the
 study of prophesie. Now the practice
 was on this sort: there were in diverse
 more eminent Cities, publick places,
 or noted Schools, where a society of
 such

such as would, gave themselves to a more regular life, and religious exercise, and especially to the study of the law of *Moses* (most commonly under the conduct of some confessedly inspired person) that they might also arrive at the like spirit of prophesie. Thus as we find at *Jerusalem a Colledge*, (2 King. XXII, 14, & 2 Chron. XXXIV, 22,) בית אולפנא *An House of Learning*, saith the same Paraphrast, so too at *Ramah*, where *Samuel* dwe't, and whither *David* fled to dwell with him: and accordingly our Paraphrast renders *Naioth*, the place of *Samuel's* abode in *Ramah*, *The House of Learning*, 1 Sam. XIX, 18. 19. And whereas the Original Hebrew saith *Samuel standing amongst the company of prophets as appointed over them*, he rendreth קאם מליף עלייהו *standing as a Doctor or Teacher over them*. The like is to be said of the *sons of the prophets* at *Bethel* and *Jericho*, 2 Kings II, 3, 5. where the same reading of *Disciples* is still observed: and of those also, over whom *Elisba* presided, 2 Kin. VI, as *Samuel* had done before over the others, 't is true, the *Gift of prophesie*, as thereby

we understand an ability to utter things beyond mens natural powers or habituated capacities, was indeed of immediate inspiration from God : but that which qualified men for it, as a previous disposition, was the study of the Law of *Moses*, and manners suitable to it ; and in this way, as is evident, of old they sought it. Now of those who thus sought this gift, some by divine dignation attained thereto ; others, I say, stayed in that Ordinary knowledge, which by such studies they acquired. Nevertheless even these later are by the Scripture called *Prophets*, in the latitude of that name : for so I take those passages, 1 *Sam. X*, 5. and Chap. *XIX*, 20. *A company of prophets*, which our Paraphrast renders סֵפְרֵי סָפְרִים *A company of Scribes*, understanding the *prophets* there spoken of, not to have been all of them inspired persons ; and therefore giving them that name, which in after times was the proper stile for persons deeply studied in the Law, (1 *Chron. XXVII*, 32.) and who some of them had run a course under eminent prophets, but themselves not attained to

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to the like inspiration; as was the case of *Baruch* (if we may believe *Maimonides*) which *Baruch* is frequently called a *Scribe*. See *Jerem.* XXXVI, 26, 32, &c. This acceptance of the word *prophets* for persons learned in the law of *Moses*, and Teachers thereof, though not at all inspired, is founded on many other Texts of that Paraphrast, who generally when he conceives the Text to speak of *prophets inspired* renders them נביאים, but when of *prophets* by more ordinary means, and of more ordinary rank, he keeps to the above-mentioned stile of *Scribes*, or מלפין Doctours, *Jerem.* XXVI, 16, & XXX, 1, 15, &c. And such as these, beyond all question (though indeed not brought up under inspired men) were the scribes and Doctours amongst the Pharisees in our Lords time, who sat in *Moses's chair*, and instructed the people in *Moses's* Law, of which way of instruction we shall have occasion to speak more hereafter.

In summe; That *Prophefying*, to which men arrived by the ordinary means of study, prayer, exercise, and

Moreh
Ne-
boch.
par. 2.
cap: 32

Converlation with able persons, - and which was controleable by immediate *Revelation*, such as we have found in the *Corinthian Church*, and have observed the Original pattern thereof in the old Jewish Church or Synagogue, that prophesying, I say, was of a sort much interiour to the other, which was by divine inspiration: There were therefore even in these extraordinary dayes, a secundary and more ordinary sort of prophets and prophesying.

Now as out of the *inspired prophets* before spoken of, I conceive to have been chosen the *Evangelists*, so out of these more ordinary ones, the *Pastours and Teachers* in those primitive dayes. For I suppose it will be easily allowed, that generally the *Pastours and Teachers* were persons in a good measure skilled in the Scriptures of the Old Testament: and that they all had that skill by immediate inspiration, I do not know it to have been so much as pretended by any men in their wits. Προεῖται μὲν πάντα καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐν ἐντομαῖς καὶ διδασκαλίας διανοίας,
saith the *Greek Scholiast* "The prophets (namely those of the inspired Order)
"spoke

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“ Spoke all from the Spirit, but the
 “ Teachers by their private skill. How-
 ever though neither *Pastours* nor *Teach-
 ers* were necessarily, as such, (nor, I
 believe, generally) inspired men even
 in those dayes, yet they were never-
 theless *Gods ordinance*. He who set in
 the Church first *Apostles*, secondarily
Prophets; let also *Thirdly Teachers*.
 Ephes. 4. 11. They were of *Gods constitu-
 tion*. And *Ephes. IV, 11*. Christ gave
 some *Apostles*, some *Prophets*, some *E-
 vangelists*, some *Pastours*, some *Teach-
 ers*. They were *Christs Gift*.

Further, that there should be a suc-
 cession of men, whose business it should
 be by way of Office to feed the flock
 of Christ, and that this succession
 should continue, or be of perpetuity in
 the Church, is clear. When our
 Lord at first gave Commission to his A-
 postles, he authorised them in this
 form. *As my Father hath sent me, even
 so send I you*. His Father sent him with
 a power, among other things, to send
 others, as well to gather together, as to
 feed his flock: and as his Father sent
 him, with like power did he send his

See: 3.

John
XX. 21

Apo-

Apostles. This power they well understood themselves to have received, and accordingly did send others, and them too as they were sent themselves, with a power for supply of their own mortality, or where the Work was too great for them, to send others also. And it is most plain from the *Acts* of the Apostles, and from St. Paul's Epistles; especially those to *Timothy* and *Titus*, that the Apostles in such places where they had converted numbers to Christianity, did out of the gravest and ablest of the flock, choose persons whom they laid their hands upon, with Fasting and Prayer, and thereby set them apart, or ordained them to minister in Holy things, to *take heed unto, and oversee, and feed the Churches* in their absence. These persons thus set apart and impowered, were called *Πρεσβυτεροι*, *Elders* or *Presbyters*, and we in English (as most of the *European* modern Languages have shortened the word) thence have the name *Priests*. Over these persons the Apostles themselves presided, while alive and present; and afterward, in every greater and more famous Church

Acts
XX. 17
28, &c.

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Church chose such a particular person, as they saw to be fittest, and appointed him to preside, both in their absence & after their death, called both in Scripture, and in the language of the Church generally ever since, a *Bishop*: To him within his Church, has ever appertained the power of ordaining others. Thus was *Timothy* set at *Ephesus*, *Titus* left at *Crete*, and others elsewhere. And it is most plain, that *Timothy* and *Titus* being sent by *St. Paul*, did also themselves send others, ordain the *Ephesians* and the *Cretians* *Elders in every city*. Of these *Elders* or *Priests*, some *laboured in the Word and Doctrine*, were principally taken up in instructing the Faithful, and were thence called *Teachers*: and he who was principal in any Church, we may account to have been stiled *Pastour*. Others there were, who moved in a lower sphere, as intrusted, qualified and impowered, attending meaner Ministries, and were from such Ministration termed *Deacons*. And accordingly the Apost'e commands to keep each to his business, or that part to which

Rom.
XII. 7.
8.

he was set. *He that ministreth, let him wait on his ministering*: Deacons on the services assigned them. *He that teacheth on Teaching*: Doctours on instruction. *He that exhorteth on Exhortation*. Pastors on Pastoral counsel & conduct. *He that ruleth, with diligence*: such chief Pastours as are to govern, let them be diligent in their inspections. 'Tis plain, that though all these derive their authority from the same fountain of power, Jesus Christ, yet these are all different: *Having gifts different, ver. 6. Ruling & Teaching* do not necessarily meet, nay did not even in these inspired days, in the same person: Yea, even *Teaching* and *Exhorting*, though now commonly the work of every Minister in every Sermon (so much difference is there betwixt our Preaching now, and their Discourses then) yet, were not in those dayes alwayes of the same person. Doctrine & instruction belonged to one, afterwards. perhaps stiled the *Catechist*: Exhortation to others, and chiefly to the Bishop, as shall presently be further evidenced.

To summe up all: *Jesus Christ* sent
his

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his *Apostles*, and impowered them to send *Others*: They exercised actually this power, and did send others, and ordered those *Others* thus by them sent to send *Others*, to *ordain Elders* or *Priests in every city*, some of whom (as to the point in hand) by their Office and charge were to *Labour in the Word and Doctrine*, which we at present call *preaching*. These also in their Generation regularly ordained others, as they were appointed and impowered to do; & the orderly succession is come down to us in this present age and Church: This is the summe, of all the sacred right, or Divine authority, of our *Office*, which as Pastours or Teachers, we have or pretend to.

Sc. 4.

Briefly now as to the *Authority*, that is the *certainty* or *truth* of what we *teach* in way of discharging this part of our Office.

First, as to the *Foundation* upon which we build, it is of *Divine* and infallible authority, *Scripture given by inspiration of God*; the same Doctrine which those infallible preachers of the Gospel delivered by word of mouth first, and then consigned in writing.

K k k k 2 We

We teach nothing necessary to be believed or done in order to salvation, which is not there contained, or does not, to any mans reason who understands common sense, follow from it. If at any time we teach such matters, which may seem less necessary, we let the world know, they are onely *prudential*, and we press them onely proportionably, and with prudential *Motives*. And herein also we have the example of the great Apostle, expressly discriminating his own sense and advices from Divine oracles and commands. *To the rest speak I, not the Lord*, 1 Cor. VII, 12. And again, *This I speak by permission, and not of commandment*, ver. 6.

Secondly, as to our *interpretations* of Scripture, and *deductions* from thence, we proceed not upon our own heads. We search what has ever been the sense of the Church, or what the purest ages have consented upon, and we interpret Scripture, where we can have it according to such *consent*, either of the Church Universal, or of the Primitive and purer Church. Where we find not this consent, we compare Scripture with

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with Scripture, and apply the Analogy of Faith, we examine the context, design, expressions, we pray the assistance of Gods spirit, we read again, we study, we consider again and again, before we presume to speak our own sense. And after all, we *exercise no Dominion over the faith of any*, but desire to be believed according to the strength of our reasons.

And Lastly, As we openly profess to all the World, that we are not infallible, but men *of like passions* with the rest of Mankind (though we hope ours a little more subdued to reason and conscience than all mens are) so on the other side, that we should not be so obnoxious to Errour, as are the common sort, there is all the reason in the world to believe. We are, as the ancient Prophets and Prophets sons above spoken of, bred up in the reading and studying of Holy Scriptures from our Childhood; we are instructed in *Arts and Sciences*, and peculiarly in the *Original Languages* of the Scriptures; we *enter into the sheep-fold by the door*, and *climb not in any back-way*; we *give our*

selves up to these things. And then if he, who promised, when he sent forth his Apostles to preach, that he would *be with them to the end of the world* (and that by his *Spirit the Paraclete*, which *should guide them into all truth*) can now, the Apostles being dead, most of them (if not all) sixteen hundred years ago, can, I say, now no otherwise perform his promise, than by being with them in their successors, it is plain that if any sort of men may expect the guidance of the spirit more than others, we are the men. This is the summe of the Authority our Sermons pretend to. For a conclusion whereto, I shall onely say, that were I a *Lay*-person my self, I had rather in a difficult and uncertain matter, undetermin'd by the Church, err with my spiritual Guide, than venture at being in the right by my own self-conceit and way-wardness: For as it is scarce possible, that the Errour could be in any great matter, being a point supposed not yet determin'd by the Church, so it is very probable there would be more sin in such my holding of the truth, or, at least, in such my

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my venturing at it, than in an humble and submissive error, where there were still a preparation of mind to embrace the Truth when seen.

I now proceed to the third matter of Enquiry, upon what *occasion*, and by what *means* and *degrees*, this *difference* betwixt what truly is, and what now is called, *preaching the Gospel*, came in? Sect. 5.

And I say, the true and great occasion of this difference, is the different state of the Church. The alterations in the state hereof, since the Apostles departure out of the World, and the times immediately connecting therewith, have been so great, as have rendered that Primitive preaching the Gospel, both *impossible* and *improper*.

It is first impossible, by reason of the cessation of that miraculous and infallible guidance of the Holy Ghost, which as it was not Universal then (for though the Apostles, and Prophets, and Evangelists generally had it, yet not all the Teachers of the Church, as we have seen) so it seems not to have been necessary in the Church any longer.

ger, than till the Canon of Scripture was finisht; the Church having that certainty now in these mate Records, which she had before from those living and vocal ones, the Apostles and Apostolical men. We therefore confess ingenuously, we do not preach as the Apostles did, because we cannot; and we cannot, because God hath not thought it fit or necessary to continue such a measure of his holy spirit upon particular persons, as he indulged them. In the mean while, as the present Ministry are not accountable for having taught no better than they could, so neither are the people, for having been no better taught. The condemnation of this age will not be, for having been meanly instructed. Let the people believe as soundly, and live as holily as the Regular Ministry teacheth, and there is no fear of their miscarriage.

Again, the Apostolical preaching of the Gospel, would be in a great measure improper in the present state of the Church. It supposes, as we have already made evident, the people to whom it was address'd, not onely idol, but

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but even ignorant of Christianity: now neither of those can be supposed generally of our people. Besides, we have seen it was various, occasional, interlocutory, which will not consist with the reverence due to the publick Worship of God in our Assemblies wherein we are to preach, nor even with the regard to be had to particular persons. For let anyone judge, should we come, and in a short speech exhort people to turn Christians, and then give way to all the Questions, Cavils and Objections which any of our Auditours would put to us upon what we had said, or upon any other point in the whole Doctrine of Christianity, what confusion and ridiculous entertainment, not to say worse, would some mens impertinencies and weakness, others profane Atheistical vein create, both us and our Auditours?

Thus the great *Occasion* of this difference is manifest; and withall appears to be such, as that it justifies or warrants the difference which it hath caused, and leaves not the blame thereof at the door of the present *Preachers*.

Sec. 6.

As to the particular *modes and methods* which have been used in what we call preaching, since this difference came in, they have been very various; and indeed they ought so to be. For it being our grand design to persuade men to the sincere practice of their Christian Duty, we must persuade them as we can, that is, as they will suffer themselves to be persuaded. And this justifies our alteration of method, stile, and many other circumstances according to the temper and *Genius* of them, with whom we have to deal. A Physician, that has a melancholy, humourful and self-will'd patient, is not blamed if he cure him with a trick, though he never talk to him in terms of Art, nor write a formal *Recipe*. Let us bring men to God and their Duty, and it matters not much how we do it. St. Paul our great pattern in this part of our Ministry, doth not deny, at least is not ashamed to own the imputation, that *being crafty he caught them with guile*; 2 Cor. XII, 16. In other terms, he saw what course would take with them, and that course he took. And this

is the most charitable construction we can put upon that great variation of the way of *Preaching*, which from time to time we cannot but observe to have been introduced and practised in all ages of the Church, as well ordinary as extraordinary. For we shall find, that even in those inspired dayes, not onely the way of one Apostle's preaching differed from anothers, but even upon different occasion, the same Apostle's from his own at other times. We will begin with what certainly gave the first occasion, at least some precedent, to all such preaching as is now in use amongst us, and observe the difference all along.

Now that was certainly that kind of *Sec. 7.* interpreting Scriptures, which was practised by the Scribes and Doctors in the Old Jewish Church; which that we may see as particularly as we can, we will trace it from the very first beginnings, or even appearances of any practice tending thereto. I cannot observe, that by any letter of the Law, the *Priests* or *Levites* are commanded to instruct the people in the Law at their publick Assemblies for Divine Worship, no

Deut.
24. 8.

Levit:
9, 10,
11.

nor so much as thereat publicly to read it. We find indeed in the case *Leprosie*, this command to the people; *Take heed in the plague of leprosie, that thou observe diligently, and do according to all that the Priests the Levites shall Teach you.* And more generally, it is enjoined *Aaron and his sons*, that they should *not drink wine nor strong drink, when they went into the Tabernacle of the Lord*, to the end that they might put a difference between the holy and unholy, and between clean and unclean, (that is, judge aright in all cases of conscience, which they should meet with) *And that they might teach the children of Israel all the statutes, which the Lord had spoken.* Both these places indeed suppose the Priests and Levites were to instruct the people in their duty according to the Law of *Moses*: And it is further a part of dying *Moses* his benediction to the Tribe of *Levi*, *They shall teach Jacob thy judgments, and Israel thy law*, Deut. XXXIII, 10. But if we consider all these places with regard to the respective connexions and dependances of each, we shall find that *Teaching* to
have

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have been onely the Priests deciding emergent difficulties, or resolving doubts and Cases of Consciences, touching the obligation of particular points of the Law, as spiritual Guides and Judges in such matters: The pronouncing to such as came to consult them, what the obligation of the Law was, and particular resolving their Consciences therein, most plainly, I say, appears to have been the *Teaching* there spoken of. And correspondent hereto is that passage in *Malachi* (Chap. II, 7.) *The Priests lips should preserve knowledge, for he is the Messenger of the Lord of Hosts*; where what is in the Hebrew מלאך מֵסֵפֶסֶר *Messenger*, our Paraphrast renders מַשְׁמֵשׁ קֹרֵן *He ministrateth before the Lord*, of which rendring, the above celebrated Master *Thorndike* tells us, the *Jewes* give this reason, "For standing to minister before the Lord in the Temple, he is always ready for those purposes of satisfying their inquiries. Now this is very short of Lectures in course, or solemn Expositions of the Law at all their publick Assemblies.

And as to any *reading* of the Law, all

the exprefs injunctions thereof that I can find, were onely for the Kings reading it privately, *Deut. XVII, 19.* and for a publick reading it *at the end of every seven years, in the year of the release, at the feast of the Tabernacles, Deut. XXXI, 10.* But who was publickly to read it then, will be some question: If we may interpret the meaning of the Text by the *Jewes* practice in this case, truly not the Priests or Levites. Let us hear the Comment of the Learned *P. Fagius* upon the Text. *When all Israel is come to appear before the Lord thy God in the place which he shall choose, thou shalt read this law before all Israel in their hearing; ver. 11. Loquitar Mosi, & qui eum locum in populo post illum obtinerent, &c.* "He speaks, saith he, to *Moses*, "and to those who should be his successors in that place, as were their Kings, and before them their Judges. "In the time of the Kings, the King himself, in the Women's Court, because that was the largest of any of the Courts of the Temple, from an high place, that is a wooden Pulpit, which they called *בית דין* read the law, not

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“not all of it, but some chief places
“out of *Deuteronomy*, that the people
“might be stirred up, and as it were
“molded into the performance of it.—
Furthermore (as after a while he proceeds) “it was the solemn use, according to what the *Hebrews* report, “that at such time as the King read, “and published the Law in the Womens Court, *Levites* appointed to “this purpose, called together the “people with Trumpets through all “the City of *Jerusalem*, and stirred “up the whole multitude to the hearing of the Law: that being wrapt in “to admiration by such solemnity, they “might begin more attentively to hear— “ken, and those, who were yet ignorant of the matter, might more “diligently inquire. More he has to this effect. Herewith also agree Mr. *Ainsworth’s* Annotations. “This was, saith he, “performed by the Chiefest “of them, either the High Priest, as “*Ezra*, or the King: For this Commandment was to *Joshua* (more right in that than *Fagius*, see *ver. 7.*) and “therefore the King read it.—The King
read

“ read sitting , and if standing , it was
 “ more commendable. He read from
 “ the beginning of *Deuteronomy* , &c.
 “ They set up a great Pulpit of Wood
 “ in the midst of the Court-yard , and
 “ the King went up and sat therein,
 “ and all *Israel* gathered round about
 “ him. And the Minister of the Syna-
 “ gogue took the Book of the Law, and
 “ gave it to the ruler of the Synagogue:
 “ And the ruler of the Synagogue gave
 “ it to the *Sagan* or Captain of the
 “ Temple (*Acts* V. 24.) and the *Sa-*
 “ *gan* gave it to the High Priest , and
 “ the High Priest to the King , to ho-
 “ nour him before the multitude. And
 “ the King took it standing , and if he
 “ would he sat down and read , &c.
 More is to be had there , out of the
 Rabbies , of the particular Rites and
 Circumstances at this solemnity : but
 this is amply enough to our purpose.
 Now hereby it does not at all appear ,
 that it was either the Duty , or the Cu-
 stome from the beginning of the *Jewish*
 Church , for the Priests or Levites so
 much as to read the Law to the people
 in their solemn Assemblies: And though
 it

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it may be said, from *Moses* his writing this Law, and delivering it to the Priests the sons of Levi, which bore the Ark of the Covenant, that this his committing it to them, was in order to their reading it to the people, yet this is *Gratis dictum*, and the reply is easie; he gave it to them as the Keepers of the Holy things, as they bore the Ark of the Covenant: and besides he gave it not to them alone, but also to all the Elders of Israel. The publick reading of the Law in the dayes of *Joshua* (*Josh. VIII, 34.*) was occasional: so too was that in the dayes of good *Josiah*, *2 Kings XXIII, 2.* But in neither instance was it performed by the Levites, but, according to what has been already spoken out of the late cited Authours, by the Chieftains of the people, *Joshua*, and *Josiah* themselves. Of the same nature too (occasional I mean, not solemn, and by way of settled course in the publick Worship) was that Teaching, performed indeed by the Levites (assisted by the Princes to bring the people into obedience) at the command of *Jehoshaphat*, and designed for the reformation

of what abuses, oblivion and a long neglect of the Law had introduced. In a word, it is generally received by the learned, that the Weekly reading the Law in the publick Assemblies, was brought in by *Ezra* (however as some say it was appointed before) and not in use till his time. That, which before his dayes supplied the absence of this Office, was the frequency of Prophets, which God raised up still amongst the people as occasion required. So that hitherto, (till the time of *Ezra* I mean) we can find no *preaching* in the Jewish Church, but either the Priests declaring the obligation of the Law, in cases put to them as doubts arose, what was clean, what unclean, what fit to be sacrificed, what not; Or publick reading it (especially the Book of *Deuteronomy*, which most say was the onely Book first used to be read publickly) once in seven years by the King or Chief Governour; Or lastly, the prophets reprehensions, exhortations, instructions and predictions, according as they were immediately directed by the Holy Ghost, which prophes

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phies were all of infallible authority, and most of them in all probability recorded in the Scripture.

We are now to see what *Ezra* set up: And if we rest in what the Scripture records, we shall surely come short of any weekly or daily course. In the first instance of his practice, we have little or nothing new, but what some particular circumstances in the state of the Jewish affairs did then require. For the publick reading of the Law, then was partly occasional and extraordinary (as that in *Joshua's* and *Josiah's* time before mentioned) and partly in pursuance of the Command, *Dent. XXXI*, touching the seventh years course. We will view the place, *Nehem. VIII, 1, 2, 3.* *All the people gathered themselves together as one man into the street, and they spake unto Ezra the Scribe to bring the Book of the Law of Moses, which the Lord commanded Israel. And Ezra the Priest brought the Book of the Law before the Congregation both of men and women—And he read therein before the street that was before the Water-gate from the morning [or first day-light] until the mid-day. And Ez-*

rather the Scribe stood upon a Pulpit of wood which they had made for the purpose, &c.

In short, the City being now built and replenisht with inhabitants (Ch. VII, 73) newly returned from the Captivity, the people, in order to further settlement, required the Laws, by which they were to live. Here is the extraordinary occasion. And with this the peoples importunity, ^{most} happily did concur (at least very nearly) the time by the very letter appointed for the publick reading of the Law: For it was in the seventh moneth, Chap. VII, last, and VIII, 2, that is in the moneth Tisri, our September, into which moneth fell the Feast of Tabernacles, Levit. XXIII, 24; at which time it was enjoined, the Law should be read, Deut. XXXI, 10. Unto which command, that Ezra had regard, is evident from all the circumstances; He read before all Israel gathered together, from a pulpit of wood, as the Custome was; placed indeed in the midst of the street, the Courts of the Temple not being able to contain the multitude: and he read, from the first day light to the mid day; not a single Parasha or Fifty fourth

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fourthpart of the law (for then they could never have advanced so far , as by the second dayes reading, to have found it written in the law, that they should keep the Feast of Tabernacles, as they had *ver. 14.*) nor any such portion as the Jewes pretend to be of *Ezra's* institution. Now as to *Ezra's* reading, and *Jeshua's*, and *Bani's*, and the other *Levite* giving the sense , and causing the people to understand the reading, this was no commenting on , or expounding the Text , but a bare rendring of it into a Dialect, which the people understood. They were but now returned from *Babylon*, where they had (what they say they did not in *Egypt*, nor in all their wandrings in the Wilderness) changed their language , and they now spoke *Chaldee*, so that the Original *Hebrew* wherein the law was writt, was become strange to them, and they needed interpreters: Accordingly, though the law was read, as wit, in *Hebrew*, yet these interpreters all along rendred it in *Chaldee*, as the people understood. And this Text I take to be a very pertinent one , to prove that the Scriptures

ought to be translated into the Vulgar Tongues of all people that have them; but I conceive it wronged, if extended further.

The other instance of *Ezra's* practice, we have Chap. IX, 1, 2, 3. Now that *reading*, I mean the reading at that season, cannot that I know of, be founded upon any precept of the law; for it was upon a solemn Fast kept by all the people, not by the law, but upon publick Order and Custome amongst themselves: and they *read one fourth part of the day, and one fourth part they confessed*. Yet forasmuch as it is said of the Readers, that *they stood up in their place, and read*, it would seem that this was in course and usual on such Fasts; at least that this was the beginning of some such course for the future. This is the summe of what reading of the law I find recorded in Scripture to have been set up by *Ezra*.

As to any thing more, we must be beholding to Jewish tradition for it; and that perhaps may fix the institution of publick reading the law three times

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a Week, on an elder and greater Author than *Exra*: for thus saith *Maimonides*, our Master *Moses* appointed *Israel* to read the law at Morning-prayer upon the Sabbath day, and upon the Second and the Fifth day [that is, Saturday, Munday and Thursday] that they might not rest three dayes from hearing the law:

Te-
phill.
ubirch
Cohen.
cap. 12.
n. 1.

And *Ezra* appointed to read it at Evening Prayer upon the Sabbath, because of idle persons. And he ordered that three should read on the second and fifth dayes, and none less than ten verses. But still we have bare reading, no Exposition or Comment: this came in by little and little after the dayes of *Exra*, as is affirmed amongst others, and I conceive most truly, by the learned *Peter Cunnæus* in these words: *Sub priore templo lex recitata dumtaxat à Levitis populo est, aut etiam domi à singulis legabatur interpretatio Magistrorum commentatioq; nulla erat. At sub posteriore, oraculis cessantibus, receptum paulatim more publico est, ut verba Biblici contextus sensaq; explicarentur à quam rem eruditi ingenium suum advocavere:* "Under the first Temple, the law was onely read by
the

De Re-
pub.
Hebr.
l. 2. c.
17.

646 Of the Office and Chap. II.

“ the *Levites* to the people , or every
 “ man read it privately at home , there
 “ was no Exposition or Comment of
 “ the Doctours : But under the later,
 “ Oracles , that is , inspired prophecies,
 “ ceasing , by publick practice it grew
 “ in use , by little and little , that the
 “ words and sense of the Holy Text
 “ were expounded: to which purpose
 “ the learned amongst them applied
 “ their wit and study. This , I say , I
 take for a great truth , as to the date of
 their Expositions; but yet cannot but
 much admire , that if the publick read-
 ing of the law in so frequent returns of
 course were appointed by *Moses* , it
 should not be more constantly practised
 before *Ezra's* dayes; or if practised ,
 that we should hear nothing of it in ho-
 ly Scripture. I know indeed almost as
 much , as what *Maimonides* saies , is said
 of *Moses* by others: by *Josephus*, ^{Expositio}
^{Εξήγησις}, &c. *Moses commanded to as-
 semble for the hearing of the law every
 Week, ceasing from other works, and
 that we should exactly learn it.* And
 there is a passage or two in *Philo Judæus*
 in his third Book *de Vita Moysis* , which
 look

Adv.
 Appi.
 Ona . 12

look this way : but it is not unusual for these people to derive such Traditions from *Moses*, which are of much later date.

That the Ceremonial Worship of God by Sacrifices, and like rites, was of old, amongst the *Jewes*, confined to the Temple, is generally plain from Scripture: that the publick Moral Worship of him, by Prayers and hearing of the Law, was performed in their Synagogues, at least by such, who could not come up to the Temple, may not be doubted. But, if there had been any such constant publick reading of the Law from *Moses's* dayes, or under the first Temple, we should certainly have heard more of these Synagogues, than we do in the Old Testament. The judicious and deeply read Mr. *Thorndike* produces *R. Menahem*, proving after the Cabbalistical way from *Isa. l, 21.* that there were, even before *Isaiak's* time, *CDLXXX* Synagogues in *Jerusalem*: but though he allow this may pass for an *Historical truth* under the second Temple, yet he rejects the assertion of it under the first, as one

Relig.
Afr. m.
Ch. 2.

of the crotchets, with which those mens brains are alwaies teeming; and concludes that "it there be any expresse remembrance of Synagogues under Solomon's Temple, in the Scripture, he supposes it to be, *Pf. LXXIV, 4. 8.*— "But that remembrance so obscure, "that it cannot be thought they could "afford the body of that people means "to assemble for the Service of God. And truly the ambiguity of the Original Text, and the diverse rendrings it has received are so great, that it may be reasonably questioned, whether it be to be understood of Synagogues at all: so that I have good grounds to stick to my first assertion, of the very seldome reading the Law of *Moses*, in any publick Assemblies, till the time of *Ezra*.

And from that time, as already said, the reading of the Law became frequent and of so emn course; and so may be presumed to have continued till the abolition of desolation set up by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who not onely profaned the Temple and the Altar, and forbid them to circumcise their children, and many such things, but also interdicted the

I Ma.

b. l.

Cc.

the reading of the Law of Moses under pain of death. On this occasion, least according to *Antiochus* his design, they should forget the Law, and all their Ordinances be changed, this expedient was devised: in stead of the Section of the Law, or *Parasha* to be read of course (for they had divided the *Pentateuch* into 54 Sections, so that taking one each Sabbath, and putting two of the shortest together on two sabbaths, they dispatched the reading of the whole in a year) in stead, I say, of a Section of the Law, they read a section out of the Prophets called *הפטרות* as near as they could of the same subject with that, which ought to have been read out of the Law: a kind of Concordance of which sections of the Law and Prophets, we have generally printed in the end of the *Hebrew Testament*,

Vide
Weems
Christ.
Synag.
§ 1. c. 4.
Answ.
in Gen.
VI.

לוח ההפטרות וגו'

When this persecution was over, they returned again to the reading the Law of *Moses*; yet so, as they left not off the reading of those parallel Sections out of the Prophets: so that these later may seem thus to have become a kind

of interpretation of the former, the *prophets* of the *Law*. And this is the summe of all the *preaching* yet to be found in the Jewish Church, namely the *reading* the *Law* of *Moses* in course, with some Analogous part of the *prophets*, which might seem an explication of it.

Ast.
XII.
15.
Luk,
IV. 16.

But it is sure, before our Lords coming into the World, much more had obtained: for though we find the *Law* and the *Prophets* were read in their Synagogues, every Sabbath day, yet by the peoples expecting, and the *Rulers* of the *Synagogues* desiring from our Lord and his Apostles, after such reading or Lessons, some explication or word of *exhortation* to the people, it is plain, their Doctours had accustomed them to some such thing. The teaching in use amongst their Doctours, when sat in the Synagogues, is thus described by *Philo*. 'Ο μὲν τὰς ἁγίας ἀναγινώσκει, ἕτερος δὲ

In. lib.
cnn.
prob.
libe-
rum
cic.

ταῖς ἐμπροστίαις, ὅσα μὴ γινώσκοντα παρὰ τοῦ, &c.
One reads the Holy Text; another of the most skilful amongst them, passing through whatever is difficult, gives an exposition thereof. But the Rabbies are more

pun'

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punctuall in the account they give us : it being generally concluded amongst them , that one great design of the Sabbath and Feasts was , that the people might thereon learn the Law , they tell us , the teaching thereof , which ought to be on the Sabbath and Feasts , must extend to three particulars. The first קבלת דבריה the true *delivery of* vid. R. Isaac. Abarb. in Deu. V. 12. *the words* , according to the received reading of them ; a piece of no small skill of old amongst the *Jewes*. The second פירושיה the *Exposition* or explanation of the *sense* thereof. The third דקדוקיה An account of the *Criticisms* or subtleties thereof. These two last undoubtedly imploied their greatest *Doctours* , *Scribes* or *Wisemen* , as they are called , *Matth XXIII, 34*. And the performance thereof , especially of the second , they called דרש an *inquisition* , consultation , debate , or search touching the meaning of the Scripture. And the performer hereof בעל המדרש or דרשן *בשלח* , a *Lisputer* , one that debates or discusseth any point. And to this purpose , many of their *Doctours* used to sit together

in the Temple, and in their Synagogues, and to speak severally to the same subject, for the finding out the true sense of any part of the Law, or the due stating any difficulty: Thus we find them in our Saviours dayes, and him in the midst of them, *Luke II, 46.* His parents found him in the Temple, sitting in the midst of the Doctors, both hearing them and asking them questions. Such exposition of scripture, as we have seen it to have been called in the New Testament *prophesying*, so the learned *Grotius* proves to be the same with *St. Luke's* *ἀγορεύειν* *παροχλήσεις* or word of exhortation, as we render it, *Act. XIII, 15.* but imports no more than word of *prophecie*, taking *παροχλήσεις* in the *Hellenistical* sense. And this I take to be the highest pitch whereto the *Jewish preaching* or teaching ever arose (the word of God in the mouth of the inspired prophets onely excepted) namely, a cursory exposition or debate, by several of their Doctors, one after the other, touching anything more difficult, which occurred in the portion of the Law or the Prophets, for that Sabbath read in the Syn-

Vid.
Grot.
in Act.
IV. 36

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Synagogue. In allusion whereto is that of the Apostle to the *Corinthians*, 1 Cor. XIV. 26.
Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the others judge, &c.

Now this kind of Discourses being, Scd. 8.
as is evident by what has been said, rather of men opineing, and aiming at the truth, than of those who were assured that they had it by divine revelation, and besides being miserably servile & unsatisfactory to humane nature, as being employed generally on such points as the washing of Hands, Cups, Dishes, or the curing of meats according to tradition, and like Ceremonial appliances; or, if any point apprehended to be of greater moment did offer it self, leaving that in suspense till a prophet should come, as their usual speech and practice was, this kind, I say, gave very great 1 Mic. VI. 46. & XIV. 41
advantage to our Lords and his Apostles preaching: For (even to the Disciples may I apply, in a great measure, what is said of the Master) *They taught as persons having authority, and not as the Scribes.* Our Lord himself was so far from determining any difficulties of the Law, that he professedly

ly

ly took upon him to teach, wherein the Law came short of that more excellent Doctrine, which he came to publish. He brought to light a new and living way, avowing himself to be immediately sent from God to that purpose, which the Jewish Doctours could not so much as pretend: and both by the concordance of his life, condition and doctrine with what the Prophets had taught, and by such miracles as had not been before heard of, he proved what he said, that he was not only a prophet and inspired, but *The prophet which was to come*, of whom both *Moses and all the prophets* had spoken. His stile or way of speech was free, but most prægnant and powerful, his matter sublime, divine, and which by intrinsic evidence approved it self to be from Heaven, not trashing humane life with slavish bodily observances, but advancing it to the greatest perfection of Virtue and inward Peace: his manner of delivery with all assurance and Parrhesie, never at any loss, hallucination, or surprisal. When consulted on a sudden, he was the same (as much
re-

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resolved in his own mind, and as profoundly satisfactory to all his Hearers in the answers he gave) as if he had Forethought. In a word, whatever there was of rectitude or worth, either in the ordinary or extraordinary way of the Jewish preaching, we find, but most infinitely transcendent, in his. He seems to have stooped so low, in the entrance on his prophetic discharge, as to have become some while a Reader. *As his custome was, he went into the synagogue on the Sabbath-day, and stood up to read. And there was delivered to him the Book of the prophet Esaias: and we find he opened it, and read.* Having finished his reading, he sat down, and, as we have seen the custome to have been amongst the Jewish Doctours, he interpreted that Scripture to them, but not as they; for he shewed it to be verified in himself: *This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears.* And such was the evidence he gave hereof, that *All who heard him bare witness, and wondered at the gracious words, that proceeded out of his mouth.* As to the other kind of Ordinary preaching, in use amongst

Luk:
IV. 16,
17. &c.

O o o o

mongst the Jews, by resolving difficulties that arose, and informing mens consciences, Those who tried him with the hardest Questions which their Doctours malice could pick out to confound him, went away confounded themselves; and those, who out of sincere purposes consulted him touching any point, wherein they wanted counsel, found more satisfaction than they ever expected, and were surpris'd into a new and Heavenly life. The *extraordinary* preaching amongst the Jews, was that of the *prophets*, by virtue of immediate inspiration; now whereas in all the prophets unto him, there was a certain stint of the spirit of Prophecie, some particulars revealed, and infinitely more reserved (the *spirit breathing* in them *when and how long it list'd*.) to Him *God gave not the spirit by measure*, John *III*, 34. He therefore did most infallibly and uncontroleably interpret scripture, publish further the will of God, foretell future events, dispute, determine, counsel, comfort, exhort, warn, reprove, rebuke with all authority. In fine, in his preaching did all kinds and parts

parts of this Office, in the most accomplished sort, concur.

Nor was the Apostles preaching much unlike to their Lords, by reason of their ample participation of the same spirit: onely some Footsteps of their different natural tempers, education, and former condition of life, might perhaps be respectively discerned in their preaching, if we may judge (as to me seems just) of their way of speech, by their manner of writing. Thus much will any man of moderate insight into the different Characters of speech easily conclude, who shall take the paines to compare the Epistles of St. *John*, and St. *James*, and St. *Peter*, amongst themselves, and all of them with those of St. *Paul*. All their Sermons that we have extant, are comprised in the *Acts* of the Apostles: Those generally agree with the account I have already given of them; namely, that they were discourses fram'd, as occasion offered, for the publication or assertion of Christianity. To this purpose the main point they avow, is the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, by which they prove him to

652 Of the Office and Chap. II.
have been the *Messias*, and his Doctrine from Heaven, and to require therefore the belief and obedience of Mankind. In this regard they had something in their subject different from that our Lord had: He onely foretold his resurrection, and gave it as a sign and proof that he was sent of God; they attest it as really come to pass, and publish this their testimony to the world. Besides, our Lord not going but to the *lost sheep of the House of Israel*, who already believed the true God, and the Oracles he had committed to them, kept himself, as I may sopeak, in a narrower compass of Topics, arguing chiefly either from *Moses* and the Prophets Writings, or from his own Works, which he wrought in witness that his Father sent him: Whereas, the Apostles being sent *into all the World*, to *preach the Gospel to every creature*, and being to convert men from idolatry, and perhaps Atheism too, as well as from Judaism, took a larger scope as they saw occasion. Thus *St Paul*, when he has to do with the Jewes, urges onely *Moses* and the *Prophets*

Act:
XII.
&
XXVI.
22.

Chap. II. Duty of Preaching. 659

phets, and that he taught nothing but what they said should come to pass: yet when he is to preach at Athens, a place of Heathen literature, we hear nothing of Moses or prophets, though he had still, for the main, the same subject, *Jesus and the Resurrection*; but in order to the taking those people off from their idolatry, and bringing them to the Faith, he takes arguments out of Philosophy, and Philology too, as best suiting his Auditours Circumstances. So that, as before said, we may reasonably affirm, the very self same Apostles way of preaching differed much from his own at another time. We cannot see, but they took all occasions for all kind of teaching or preaching: Thus Philip preaches to the Ethiopian Eunuch, who was reading *Isaiab*, out of *Isaiab*, Act. VIII. 35. He opened his mouth, and began at that same scripture, and preached to him *Jesus* thence, interpreting no doubt that place of *Jesus*, and shewing how it was verified in him. And it is very probable, St. Paul's Sermon to the Jewes in the Synagogue, after the reading the law and the prophets (Acts

Act.
XVII:
18.

XII.

XIII. 16.) had the like foundation in the portions of the *law and the prophets* at that season read. At other times we shall find them not making set discourses, but *disputing* and arguing, *Act. IX. 29*, and *XVII. 17*, and *XIX. 9*. Again at another time, not so much teaching or [proving any thing new, but upon what was already known and believed, exhorting and stirring up to particular duties (*Chap. XX. 28, &c.*) and as occasion required, intermixing prophecies, and foretelling future events, *Ver. 29*. In a word, as the Apostolical Office was universal and extraordinary, so there is no ordinary kind of Ministering the word, belonging either to Pastour or Teacher, which we may not observe, or conceive, the Apostles to have practised; as occasion served; though still with the addition of what was extraordinary, and at present unpracticable, as aforesaid.

Señg.

Of what kind or frame their first sermons in the Christian Church were, immediately after the cessation of those miraculous gifts spoken of, I know not whether any certain and distinct account
can

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can be given : It would seem they were only brief Exhortations , made by the Bishops or Presidents above mentioned, immediately after the reading of the scriptures. Thus in that account given of the Christian Assemblies on the Lords Day by *Justin Martyr*. " On the Lords Day called *Sunday*, saith he, all of us " that live in the City or Villages about " it , meet together in one place , and " the Records of the Apostles, or the " writings of the Prophets, are read, " as the time will suffer. Then the " Reader ceasing , the *President* or Bi- " shop (διὰ λόγου καθίσταται ὁ ἐπὶ κληρονομίας τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐκείνης λέγων τούτων μυστήρια ποιῶν) " in a speech " makes an instruction and exhortation " to the imitating such good Works as " are supposed to be read of. (so I render it , not seeing what the words ἐκκλησίας τούτων can refer to , but somewhat in the Lessons). And in that ancient , however Pseudonymous work , intituled , the *Constitutions of the Apostles* (Ἐξῆς παραγγελίας εἰς ἐκτέλεσιν τῶν λατρῶν &c.) the Sermon , which is ordered to succeed immediately the reading of the Gospel , is called an *Exhortation to the*

Apo-
leg:
2. ver-
sus
finem.

Lib. 2.
cap. 57.



Lib: de
Anim.

c. 9

the people. This in *Tertullian's* Latin is called an *Allocution*, or speaking to the people [*Prout Scripturae leguntur, aut Psalmi canuntur, aut Allocutiones proferruntur, aut Petitiones delegantur.*] Truly all these names, which are produced out of Authours coming as neer those extraordinary dayes, as most we have, seem to intimate, the sermons were then onely some brief Hortatory or Monitory speeches to the people, to which the speaker took the meetest occasion or subject that the portion of scripture read, in his judgment, afforded to him: And if so, this practice evidently came from the synagogue, whose way, if our Lord and his Apostles thought good to improve, the following age might well insist in thus improved.

We shall be confirmed the more in these thoughts, if we estimate the sermons of that age, by those which we have of the Eldest Fathers. The first extant (as far as I can find) are those of *Origen's*, called in the Latin Version commonly *Homilies*, some of them *Tractates*. An *Homily*, saith *Ferrarius*, is "a very familiar speech, and as accom-

De ritu
Conci:
on, 11.
c. 5,

modate

Chap. II. Duty of Preaching. 663

“moderate as may be to the sense and
 “understanding of the Common peo-
 “ple. *Tractates*, we know, is a
 name, which the ancient Latin Fathers
 properly enough gave their Sermons,
 with whom *Tractare* is to preach, in the
 new sense of preaching, that is, as it signi-
 fies to handle Scripture by way of Ex-
 position and Application (It were frivo-
 lous to alledge instances to this purpose,
 as were easie out of *Optatus*, *St. Austin*, &
 others.) And *Tractatores* such Preachers.

[*Doctores, qui nunc Tractatores appel-*
lantur] “Whom the Apostle calls Tea-
 “chers, we now call Tractators, saith
Vincentius Livinensis. Now *Origen*, who
 certainly flourished early in the Third
 Century, takes several of the Books of
 the Old Testament in order, making a
 roveing Exposition on a passage here
 and there: so that on all *Genesis* he has
XVII Sermons, on *Exodus XIII*, on
Leviticus XVI, and to omit others on
 the Book of *Kings* 13 and scarce any of
 these half an hour long. That he took
 his subject generally out of what Lessons
 had been read immediately before, is
 evident from infinite passages in his Ho-

Alv.
 Hæc.
 cap. 4.

Homil.
X: in
Exod.

milies; I will mention one or two which first come to hand. "I can not, saith he, "set forth at present the difference of all these (namely *statutes, judgments, &c.*) *Exigimur enim ad explanationem horum quæ lecta sunt*, "being required to explain those things which have been now read. And that we may know the same person was not Reader and Preacher, or that it was not he himself who had read, we find him expounding on one Translation, whereas the Reader read another.

Homi:
Hil:
Judic:

Leſſor quidem præſentis lectionis ita legebat, & timuit populus Dominum, &c. "The Reader of the present Lesson read thus, *And the people feared the Lord all the dayes of Joſhua*: but we have it, "And the people served the Lord. Which passages I confess, together with the nature of his Expositions, being considered, confirm in me the belief of what *Eusebius* reports of *Origen's* Sermons; "Origen, saith he, "being now past the sixtieth year of his age, and having by long use and study, attained an habit and perfect maturity in Teaching, permitted, "what

Eecl.
Hil.
1.6 c.29
alias
26.

“ what he never did before , that both
 “ his Disputations and the Sermons
 “ which he made in publick , should
 “ be taken by persons who wrote fast. It
 would seem then, his Sermons were chiefly
 extemporaneous Expositions, and many
 of them perhaps not so much as re-
 vised by himself, being taken, and
 possibly publiht, by other hands; and
 many of them undoubtedly never ta-
 ken, but dying with the breath that
 uttered them.

To view a little the Sermons or Ho-
 milies of others of the Fathers; they
 must be acknowledged very diverse and
 unlike one another. Sometimes they
 have a Text, sometimes they have
 none, but pitch on any one or more
 subjects (what, and of as different
 natures as they please) and make there-
 on a short cursory speech to the people.
 Thus *S. Chrysostome* has one Sermon
Against Drunkards, and *Concerning the*
Resurrection, between which two sub-
 jects, though a man by wit may frame
 a connexion, yet is there no natural re-
 lation or affinity of the one to the o-
 ther: And notwithstanding he has two

such copious subjects, his sermon seems but very little above a quarter of an hour long.

There are an 100. of *St. Augustin's* Sermons, supposing most of those his which are found in the tenth Tome of his works (not that I am so credulous, as to think all therein contained to be *St. Augustine's*, but I see not how it can be disproved, but that the greatest part of them are his, and whether they are, or are not, it is sure they were Sermons preached neer about that Century, and so shew us the use of the Age) there are, I say, an hundred Sermons there extant, which I dare be bound to pronounce distinctly, and deliver decently, in the space of eight minutes, and some in almost half the time: A multitude of *S. Bernard's* are not much longer. Nor will I doubt further to say, of many as well of *St. Chrysostome's* Homilies, as of much a greater number of those intitled to *St. Augustin*, what I have already proved touching *Origen's*, that they were made and delivered in the same time and place: in plain terms, they were extemporaneous discourses, or such

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such at the utmost, which very little thought furnisht; and there needs no other proof hereof, than the meer perusal of such of them. *Res ipsa loquitur.*

Yet if any desire further proof, that not onely these three named, but also diverse others of the Fathers, used thus to preach, either *ex tempore*, or as said upon very little thought, there are Authorities enough produced by *Ferrarius* to this purpose, both out of Church-Historians of undoubted credit in this matter, and out of the very preaching Fathers themselves; to which Authorities it were easie to add. One

of them is so pręgnant, that I think I may not well wave it. It is of St. *Gregory* the Great, who having profest he undertook not the Exposition of *Ezekiel*

out of *rashness* but *humility*, adds somewhat a strange reason of that his extemporary commenting; *Scio, quia plurimęque multa in sacro eloquio sunt, quę solus intelligere non potui, coram fratribus positus intellexi.* "I have found, saith he, "that there are many things "in the Holy Scripture, which being "alone by my self I could not under-

P p p p 3 "stand,

De rit:
Conci-
on: 11: 2:
c: 8:

Homi:
14: in
Ezek:

“stand, but being placed in publick
 “before my Brethren, I have under-
 “stood them. By which understand-
 “ing I endeavoured to gain this also, to
 “know for whose sake [*quorum meri-*
 “to] such understanding was given to
 “me. For it is evident, it was given
 “me for them, in whose presence it was
 “given me. By which meanes through
 “Gods grace, it comes to passe, that my
 “understanding increaseth, and my self-
 “Opinion decreases, while for your
 “sakes I learn amongst you, what a-
 “mongst you I teach; *quia verum fas-*
 “teor, *plerumque vobiscum audio quod dico;*
 “For to confesse the truth, for the most
 “part I first hear with you what I say
 “my self. An ingenuous acknowledg-
 “ment! and by which it appeares this way
 of preaching, as I may so call it, was
 not accidental or on some extraordinary
 occasion, but usuall to this great man,
 and out of choice.

That in these sudden discourses they
 did not alwayes take a whole sacred
 booke before them, but occasionally
 took their Argument (or subject) out
 of what hapened to be read on the day,
 is

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is clear from almost infinite passages of those sermons in St. *Austins* last Tome. I will take any instance that first offers it self, *Apostolicectionem mecum pariter audistis, fratres dilectissimi*, &c. "you
" have heard, most beloved Brethren,
" together with me the Apostle read
" unto you: and so he goes on cursorily
treating of what had been read. Any
may see more in the Book who pleases.

De
teml:
Serm:
190.

I am far from pretending this was the
only way of sermonising amongst the
antient Fathers: nor can I but acknow-
ledge multitudes, even of St. *Chryso-*
stome's and St. *Austin's* Sermons, to have
been studied and elaborate. The same
must be said of St. *Basil's*, the two
Gregories, *Nazianzen's* and *Nyssen's*, of
whose I read nothing which smells not
of the Lamp: the same too, I conceive,
of all St. *Ambrose's* genuine Discourses,
and I believe of many others, which my
leisure or opportunity has not given me
acquaintance with. But in the mean
time, while I allow diverse of the Fa-
thers, and especially the *Greek* ones,
accurately to have penned many of their
Sermons, I cannot say they did so al-
ways:

wayes : for it must needs be presumed, they preached much oftner, than appears by these Sermons of theirs extant; and had all been so accurately penn'd, we cannot imagin, but we shou'd have had more of them come to our hands: nor can I allow all their neat Orations (no not all of *Nazianzen* himself, notwithstanding he is stiled *the Divine*) to have been properly Sermons. I must needs conceive their general way of preaching to have been more free and popular; and for this, as well as many other excellencies, I admire St. *Chrysostome*, whose way I judge, with the worthy *Cassianus*, to have been the compleatest *Idea* of preaching to be found amongst any of the Fathers I have seen.

In summe, the Sermons of the Fathers, as far as I can comprehend them under certain heads, were either, as already said (1) some *Expositions* (too often *Allegorical* and roving) on *Holy Scripture*, sometimes taking a *Book* before them; and having dispatched that, proceeding through diverse others; sometimes singling some part, or part,

De E-
loq:lib:
16:

Chap. II. Duty of Preaching. 671

out of what had been read, or was to be read, that day (*vid. Augustin. Sermon. de Temp. 200.*) Or (2) Some brief occasional speech suitable to the season or Festival; Or (3) In the praise of some Martyr, saint, or deceased Bishop; Or (4) In commendation of, and exhortation to some Virtue; Or (5) Against some Vice, or Heretick, or like subject for invectives and reprehension; Or Lastly, Some Discourses like *Esaias* on some Moral Aphorism; as that of *St. Chrysostome's* on this subject, *Neminem laedi nisi à se- ipso*, "That no one is hurt by any but himself; and his, and others on such like: But in many of these, usually (*Absit dicto invidia*) that clearness and maturity of notions, that regularity of Method may be desired, which is to be found in our Modern Writers on like subjects. Though these might be excellent Sermons then, they would not be such amongst us at present: nor indeed can any think it should be otherwise, at such distance of time, and after so great changes of the manners, temper and condition of the Church.

Sect. 10

Platin.
in vita
Sixti I.
& Ber-
noAbb
c. 1.De
Coen.
Dom.
contr.
West-
phal.

In process of time, but in what age first, I dare not take upon me certainly to resolve, it came to pass, that the chief preaching in use, was onely some explication or descanting upon the Gospel for the day. The Original of the yearly course of the Gospels the *Roman Tradition* affixeth to St. *Hierom*: He fram'd, they say, what they call the *Lectiōnary*. Whether that be so or not, it is sure the Order of reading certain portions out of the four Gospels at the Eucharist was very antient, as appears both by the forementioned *Constitutions* (*Lib. 2. cap. 57.*) and by the antientest Liturgies both of the Eastern and Western Churches (however *Beza* denies the use to have obtained in the East or even in *Africk*, but without reason that I can see). It is apparent also by St. *Augustin's* Preface to his Tractates (that is, his Sermons) on the Epistle of St. *John*, that in his time, upon all Festivals, there were [*certe ex Evangelio Lectiōnes, quæ ita sunt annuæ, ut aliæ esse non possint.*] "Certain Lessons out of the Gospel, which came in yearly course, and were not alterable.

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ble. Now it would seem by the Sermons of the Fathers of that age, that even then it was very usual to handle some part of the Gospel read, in their Sermons. The name indeed by which we call such Expositions, viz. *Postills*, by its barbarity shews it self to be much of later date: whether we derive it from the ordinary initial form of the Gospels *Post illa tempora*, or from *Post illa verba*, because the comment followed the Text, or from the French *Appostile*, it will be concluded new enough; but the thing it self must be allowed ancient, and not taken up through the laziness of the Bishops, as gentle Beza saith, but in imitation of the Prophets in the primitive Church, and even of the Jewish Doctours, expounding (as we have seen) the difficulties of the portion of scripture read in course, or on occasion. And this use being once got in, became so general, that it was for many ages in a manner all the preaching they had, except in time of Lent. True indeed, as the Mass and the corruptions thereof came to prevail, even this, as well as all other preaching,

Spelman & Martin.
Dr. Skinner.

ubi modo

begun to grow very rare in the *Roman Church*, till such time as the dawning of the Reformation awakened them; but if they had any, it was, I say, generally this: and which was the mischief, notwithstanding the long continuance of this way, it was as little improved, as can be imagin'd. Amongst those multitudes of Volumes of this kind, I can scarce say I ever saw three worth the reading.

At present this course is much broken off, as well in the Protestant, as I believe in the *Roman Churches*. In the Church of *Geneva*, having laid aside almost all footsteps of the antient Form & Manner of Liturgies, (& therefore Gospels) this way of *Exposition* ceased therewith: and it is not rare to find both *Calvin* and *Beza* inveighing against it. Their way generally was to read or expound upon such Book of the Holy Scripture, as they chose to themselves, taking the whole Book orderly before them: and it must be acknowledged to have been very useful, and much to have furthered Christian knowledge. Amongst the Papists, *Baronius* tells us,
about

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about thirty years before his time, Fa- Ad an.
ther *Philip Neri*, the *Florentine*, Foun- 57. n.
der of the Oratorian Congregation, 164.
and his Disciple *Franciscus Maria Tarn-*
sius brought up the ensuing course, *Di-*
vino planè consilio, as he is pleased to
say. "Such persons who gave them-
" selves more than others to devotion,
" meeting daily in the Church in the
" Afternoons, a Brother of the Ora-
" torians begun with a Prayer, and
" then applied himself to reading such
" a part of scripture, as was meet to
" stir up the Hearers minds to piety.
" All along the reading, the Father
" who was president used to interpose,
" and explain, amplify and apply what
" he thought fit of the things read;
" and sometimes to ask any of the Bre-
" threns judgment touching what was
" read or said: and thus the exercise
" continued, almost Dialogue-wise, for
" about an hour. Then at the presidents
" comn and, one of the Brethren went up
" into the Pulpit, and made a speech
" out of the received lives of the saints,
" and holy scriptures, and the writings.
" of the Fathers, in a free and natural

" way , without Rhetorical colours or
 " flourish. After him came up a second,
 " and then a third , but each on a diffe-
 " rent subject , and the last commonly
 " treated of Ecclesiastical History , re-
 " lating things in the Order of time as
 " they were done. Each continued his
 " Discourse half an hour , with great
 " profit and delight of the Hearers ;
 " and then singing a Psalm , or Hymn ,
 " they went to prayers again and con-
 " cluded the Assembly. This practice
 he conceives most neerly to resemble
 those Apostolical Assemblies spoken of
 in the *XIV.* of the first to the *Corinthis-
 ans.* The way has taken much , they
 say , in the *Roman Church* : and truly
 those amongst us , who separate from
 the Church of *England* , seem very
 neerly to have imitated it (except in
 the particular of Church-History ,
 which was too painful for them , & of-
 ten above their Learning) but that their
 prayers and discourses generally are of
 greater length. Notwithstanding it is
 very sure , that both in the *Roman* and
Lutheran Churches , the way of Postil-
 ling still continues frequent ; and as it
 might

Chap. 11. Duty of Preaching. 677

might be ordered, it would be of great use and advantage.

As to the present usual preaching by Doctrine and Use, the first that ever I find to have brought it up, was Dr. Ames, generally, I believe, a pious and good man; but given to more and much worse Novelties than that, & as far as I can see, amongst us a great Father of Independency. How much this way has taken and been improved since our late Civil Wars (at the beginning of which it was scarce twenty years old), as being a method in which even illiterate men could practice, I need not here speak. Thus much must be allowed, *by running to and fro, knowledge has been encreased.* Those, who had nothing but noise and zeal to draw the people after them, gave occasion to the greater industry of such, who provided them more substantial, and yet more delicate food: And thus both notions and language being refined, and Christian Doctrine in many points cleared, and withall the clearest, most taking and prudent Methods contrived and used, I am apt to think, that what we call

Dan
XII. 4.

preaching has attained, in the better part of the conformable English Clergy, such an height, beyond which it will not easily be improved, and to which, since the cessation of miraculous gifts, it never arrived elsewhere.

S. d. 12

These things *I* have thus freely spoken, not out of any slighty opinion of the Antients; they were certainly admirable in their age, and it is at a vast disadvantage that their Writings now come to us: yet, notwithstanding all disadvantages, are those very Writings a glorious light to us, and such without which we should be to seek, not only in the Antient Rites, Customs, Laws & Discipline of the Church, but in many points as to the true Antient Catholick Faith; & unable to defend the genuin Christianity against the pretences and innovations, as well of *Lesser* Hereticks and schismaticks, as especially of those *Grand* corrupters of Christianity, our *Roman* adversaries. And in whatsoever those ages may be conceived to be outdone by us, by reason of any advantages we have above them, it is sure in the main they outdid us: There

was

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was more sanctimony, true zeal, and singleness of heart to be found in one of them, than in an hundred of us; they *Lived* more Sermons than we *Preach*, and these were the greater excellencies. People might go to Heaven without scholastical notions, and Rhetorical or polite discourses, but they cannot without sincerity, resolution and holiness. Let therefore none think I have forgotten the fifth Commandment, or go about in the least to detract from the reverence due to Antiquity: by speaking freely of their way, I at once both acknowledge and vindicate their true worth. My design in any thing, which may seem to reflect upon them, is only to shew how variable a thing that which we call preaching is, and ever has been, since the proper and Apostolical preaching ceased; and so to bring people to a sober understanding that they may not, to the justling out of other parts of the publick Worship, over-value Sermons, as admitting of more variation than any other office thereof: nor yet on the other side undervalue them at present, this office

R r r r in

in all ages of the Church having continued, and being of divine institution; and the exercise of it in our Church being advanced to so elevate a degree of eminence, as must be acknowledged.

S. A. 13

Before I conclude this Head of the different Modes there have been of Preaching, there are one or two things which I think fit to add by way of *Corollary*. And first, that it is a little iniquitous to expect, that the whole essential frame and structure of our Sermons should be altered to such a degree of accuracy from what Sermons used to be, and what they still are elsewhere, not without vast pains and industry on our sides, and yet generally to require such inconsiderable circumstances, which are to the auditours (except they will be humourfome) indifferent, but would be to us of great ease. Should still remain the same. As to what of Doctrinals we deliver, we must, all points controverted on both hands being weighed, state maturely, prove demonstratively, refute convictively; and in the Applicatory part we must perswade passionately, and as far as we can omit

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mit nothing which may move the deepest concernment: and two such Discourses at least, each of an hour long, we must bring forth every Week, which we are content to do; But after we have framed them with our utmost care, and perhaps know not how to alter or omit a sentence for advantage, if we do not like School-boys say all by heart, we are censured as lazy; and this because the Antients perhaps, and most Forreigners (who generally take not that pains in ten Sermons, which many of us do in one) use so to do. Now I am bold with submission to say, this circumstance of reading or not reading, is indifferent to the Auditory: for suppose a man pronounce well, and as he ought, what matters it to those that hear him, whether his Book be open or shut, in his hand or in his pocket? We are commanded to read the prayers, and they are not supposed therefore to affect less; where then is the disadvantage in decent reading our Sermons? But though this matter signify nothing at all to any sober Hearer, yet, I say, it signifies much to the

preacher: it frees him from terrour, confusion, and perpetual anxiety, while he is speaking; besides, that it saves him before a great deal of precious time, which might be otherwise well spent, and which, it may be, he can ill afford from his other spiritual cares. To speak ingenuously, and as the case stands: Account has been given what the old Preaching was; Give us that their *Old* liberty, or give us the *New* liberty which some men take, we'll never read, nay possibly, many of us need not study. What man so barren, who could not run a loose descant upon the Gospel in the Morning for a quarter or half an hour; and do as much by the Epistle, it may be, in the Afternoon? Or, who could not cut of such Text as he pleaseth to choose, deduce empty Doctrines, and give them needless proofs; and then while out as empty an Application? But if in stead of a quarter of an hours roveing discourse, or such longer trifling, as insinuated, there be expected from us a solid Divinity-lecture of an Hour long, and not onely the *Teachers*
or

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or Catechists, but the *pastors* and applicatory part too (in a manner a just Treatise) and these so often, truly those, who read such Sermons, may be pardoned if they do thereby offend, seeing the offence is only by too much care not to offend. In a word, if we may not read, we must be more bold with our Hearers, and less accurate in our provisions: we must put in practice his rule,

*(Rem bene praevisam verba haud invita
sequuntur)*

study well our matter, and neglect style, contenting our selves with such expression as naturally offers it self; and then, when we do not write much, we cannot read; which for ought I know, as the world goes, may be the better way.

What I have said by way of extolling many of our *English* Sermons, I S. A. 14
would not have so understood, as if I valued them at that rate that some seem to do, who have the vanity and weakness, not to say worse, to thrust out in a manner all publick reading of the scriptures, and spend the whole time,

design'd for that, in what they call *preaching the Word*: nay, so highly do they magnifie their labours in that kind, that they call their very *Sermons*, the *Word of God* in their ordinary language. I do admire indeed, as I have said, a multitude of our *English Sermons*; but I would never equal the best of them, to that which seems the meanest part of Holy scripture, nor allow them the name due onely to the divine Oracles. It is evident by what has been said, we cannot pretend to such preaching, as was that of the *Apostles*: we must not therefore give our *Sermons* those names, which theirs both had and deserved; which is the other point I would add by way of *Corollary*. Let us but have so much sobriety and reason as not to contradict our selves, but be consistent with our own principles: We deny infallibility to the Pope and Church of *Rome*, and for most just reasons; And shall we each in terms assume it to our private selves, when we deny it to a Church? We do assume it, if we call our *Preaching Gospel*, or our *Sermons the Word*
of

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of God : they are at best but comments
or Tractates upon it. The Fathers,
and the Primitive Church have ever
contented themselves with the more
modest appellations of *Homilies* and
Sermons, and them not God's, but
theirs who made them. It may be ge-
nerally observed, those men, who
most confidently thus arrogate to their
preaching, have as little reasons for
this high style thereof, as any men :
but whether we have or we have not,
it certainly becomes us to imitate the
Fathers, at least in their humility, and
to speak as the Catholick Church ever
has done. And thus of the different
modes of preaching, and their occasions.

C H A P. III.

Sect. 1. *Of the fourth Head. The un-
reasonableness of some mens present al-
legging t. Paul's plea of Necessity of
Preaching for theirs.* Sect. 2. *A
Two-fold call necessary to authorise a
present Preacher, and first, of the in-
ward call.* Sect. 3. *Of the Outward
call, and its necessity.* Sect. 4. *Who
may confer it.* Sect. 5. *Of Necessita-*

ted want of Episcopal Ordination. Sect. 6. None amongst us can now pretend a call to the Ministry, much less a necessity of preaching, who have not received Episcopal Ordination. Sect. 7. The pretence of meer conscience frivolous, and fits all Hereticks and Sectaries. Sect. 8. Of imaginary cases extraordinary. Sect. 9. Of the felicity of the Church of England in regard of regular Ordinations above other Reformed Churches. Sect. 20. What necessity of preaching lies on Preachers lawfully constituted. Two points premised. Sect. 11. First, Divine precept obliges us. Sect. 12. Secondly, necessary compliance with the temper and expectation of the people. Sect. 13. The summe of all said for necessity of constantly frequent Preaching, and a transition to what remains.

Sect. I.

WE will now proceed to the fourth Head of Enquiry, namely, What Necessity any men in Truth and Reason may plead lies upon them to preach, as at present we understand Preaching.

Now

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Now for the due stating hereof, we can no whence better (as far as I see) take our measures, than from a due consideration of the usual plea, which some persons, who seem to want warrant for their Preaching, bring for its necessity: and that is the Avow of St. Paul, *A necessity is laid upon me, Tea, Wo is unto me, if I preach not the Gospel.* The Question here will be, What necessity this was, which entailed such a *Wo* on him upon default of his preaching, and wherein founded?

1 Cor.
IX. 16.

For satisfaction to this matter, let us remember St. Paul's Office, and his Call thereto. By his Office, he was an Apostle; and no ones Call could be more immediate or extraordinary than his was: He was converted to Christianity, by the appearing of *Jesus Christ* himself from Heaven: His Call to the Apostleship was notified by revelation to *Ananias*, the person employed to complete his Christianity, *Acts IX. 15.* He is a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my Name, before the Gentiles and Kings and the children of Israel. In order to such purpose, ver. 17., He was filled
S I C C with

Acts
XIII.
2, 3.

with the Holy Ghost : And after all this, in a publick Assembly of the Church at *Antioch*, it was enjoined by the Holy Ghost to the Prophets and Teachers in that Church, while *they ministered to the Lord and fasted*, that they should separate Paul to the Work whereunto God had called him : And they did accordingly ; *They fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on him, and sent him away.* After all this, there were many particular injunctions directed to him, by immediate-revelation, to *Go and preach* sometime in one place, sometime in another. *Acts XVI, 10,* He is commanded by the Holy Ghost into *Macedonia.* *Acts XVIII, 9,* He being at *Corinth*, the Lord spake to him in a Vision by night, commanding him, *Be not afraid, but speak and hold not thy peace ; for I am with thee, and no man shall set upon thee to hurt thee : for I have much people in this City.* Again *Acts XX, 22,* He goes bound in the spirit to *Jerusalem, &c.* To be short, we have thus a person miraculously called, authorised and enjoined, and miraculously indowed too, to be a Publisher and a Witness of Christ

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stianity to the Jewes and Infidels; we have this person avowing, *A Necessity lies upon him, and wo be to him if he approve not himself such as thus called to be, if he preach not the Gospel, and bear not Christs Name before the Gentiles and Kings and children of Israel.* This is the true summe of the Original case.

Now this, I say, being the main passage of Holy Writ, which many of our pretended Gospel-preachers bring to justify their irregular and prohibited (not say, as too often it is, schismatical) Ministry, *A necessity*, say they, *is laid upon us, and wo be unto us if we preach not the Gospel*, let us fairly consider, what in justice and reason may be inferred hence, to conclude a necessity of preaching incumbent on any persons, in the sense wherein we now take the term.

And to proceed in this cause upon sure principles, I need not fear contradiction if I say, the ground of the *Necessity* protested here by the Apostle, is the infallible Divine Call, and the immediate commands joined with immediate inspiration, which he had for

preaching, that is, publishing the Faith of Christ Jesus to the unbelieving World. So that applying this passage of an extraordinary case to our ordinary state, as far as in parity of reason it will bear, we can onely say, Proportionable to the *evidence* of any mans *Call* to the Office of a Teacher or Pastour, is the *necessity* which lies upon him to preach in the present sense of preaching.

Sec. 2. Divines usually teach, there is a *double Call* necessary to this sacred Office, the one *inward*, the other *outward*. Wherein the *inward call*, which is first requisite, doth consist, has been and is some controversie. There are many still, and have been more, who would have the inward Call to be little or nothing but a strong impulse of spirit to take up the Office of a Teacher, a perswasion within a mans self (supposed to be wrought by the spirit of God) that he is to minister in the Gospel. This principle is perfectly Enthusiastical: for either this perswasion has a reason and evidence, which may justify it, or it has not. To say I am perswa-

swa-

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swaded that I ought thus to minister, because I feel an assurance hereof wrought in me by this spirit of God, is to prove a thing by it self; for this assurance is the perswasion: and how shall I prove it to come from the spirit of God, and not from a spirit of delusion or self-flattery? 'Twere as good to say I am perswaded, because I am perswaded; Or, I am called to the Ministry, because I presume upon it with a great inward confidence. If it have a reason, that must be such as will approve such inward Call to others, as well as to our selves who have it (otherwise it is still no reason) and that is to say ineffect, what a soberer sort say in express terms, that the inward Call consists chiefly in personal abilities or qualifications for the Ministry. These they account chiefly two. (1) Knowledge of the Christian Doctrine in a degree above the Commonalty of the Faithful, and (2) Dexterity, to impart or communicate this knowledge.

Now it must be confessed, a perswasion that God designed a man for the Ministry of the Word, grounded upon a

sober and modest sense of such inward qualifications as these mentioned, may plead fair for the name of an inward Call. For to deal ingenuously, an *inward Call* to the Ministry must not be accounted a canting or Fanatical term, as some are pleased to style it; no more must it be denied by us of the Church of *England*, that such perswasion as just now described, goes into the constitution of such Call: For in the *Office of Ordination*, it is demanded of the Candidate to *Deacons*hip, **Do you trust that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon you this Office, &c.** To which the Candidate answers, **I trust so.** And again, **Do you think that you are truly called according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the due Order of this Church to the Ministry?** To which the Answer is, **I think so:** Which last question and Answer is again repeated in the *Office for Ordination of Priests*.

In summe, it to the particulars above mentioned of such *perswasion*, grounded upon a due *sense of the meet*

qua-

Chap. II. Duty of Preaching. 693

qualifications, we add an hearty devoting and serious *inward giving up* a mans self to God for the *service* of his Church in this way, out of a love and zeal to the *souls* of men and *Gods glory*, I see not what can be challenged as wanting in the inward Call: We will say then, that [whosoever being indowed with deeper knowledge of Christianity, and better gifts of utterance, than what the Commonalty of the Faithful have, does, with an heart really designing the Divine glory, & the eternal salvation of men, give himself wholly up to God for the service of his Church in the Ministry, has a true inward Call thereto.

But in the mean time it cannot be said, this inward Call sufficiently *authoriseth* such person to set upon Preaching, as we now understand the term; much less that it laies, meerly of it self, such a *Necessity*, as was that *avowed* by St. Paul, to preach, no not in the sense wherein we now understand preaching. For it is necessary, both that some one else (and him duly commissioned) judge of such persons abilities, (no Law ever allowing any man to be sole judge

S. 5: 3.

Acts
XIII,
2, 3, 4

judge in his own cause) and that being approved , he be solemnly *separate* and *sent* upon this Office , according to our Lords institution , and the power left with his Church to this purpose , and ever exercised in the Church. To such inward Call then it is needful there be added a due *outward Call*.

Eccle-
siastes
Oper. :
Zuing.
Tom: 2

And some kind of outward Call, all, who have had any grain of sobriety , have ever acknowledged necessary: Even *Zwinglius* himself (whatever is commonly imputed to him , that may seem contrary hereto) writ a Book asserting thus much , in which he maintains , against the *Catabaptists* , that none are to be admitted to teach publicly (*in aliquâ piorum Ecclesiâ, nisi communi aliquo & unanimi totius Ecclesiæ consensu hoc illis permittatur.*) “ in
“ any Church of the Faithful , except
“ they be allowed thereto by the com-
“ mon and unanimous consent of the
“ whole Church. He affirms further , that those Offices of ministring in the word , spoken of by St. *Paul* in his Epistles ; “ none ever of the Faithful in
“ the Primitive Church , took upon
him

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“ him on his own head, except so ap-
“ proved as before, or chosen thereto Fol 52.
“ by the Apostles. And however he is a.
much for popular Election, yet he would
not have that to be without the ad-
vice and conduct of godly Bishops and
Pastours. I will transcribe his words:
*Divina ergo ordinationi & institutioni
pristina nihil perinde consentaneum vides-
tur, quàm si universa fidelis alicujus po-
puli Ecclesia simul cum doctis aliquot piis:
que Episcopis, vel aliis viris fidelibus &
rerum peritis, pastorem aliquem deligant.*
“ There seems nothing so agreeable to
“ the Divine Ordinance and instituti-
“ on, as that the whole Assembly of
“ any faithful people, together with
“ some godly and learned Bishops, or
“ other faithful men skilful in holy mat-
“ ters, choose to themselves a Pastor:
so that it is apparent, he did not reject
all outward Call as necessary (for this
in the general he contends stiffly for)
but his errour was in the misplacing it,
in accounting the choice of the people,
taking to their assistance *some learned
and godly Bishops, or like prudent men,*
to be a due outward Call, without any

other Ordination. But this, however much practised by the Independents (saving onely that they would have nothing to do with Bishops, though never so godly or learned) has been generally rejected as an error and grand schism, and indeed is so: it will be necessary therefore to consider further, what this outward Call is, and to whom it belongs to confer it.

Sec. 4

I have above proved out of St. Paul's Epistles, that the Apostles did choose, out of such persons as they had ordained, some one abler, graver, and more stedfast person, whom they set over the rest of the Ministry within such or such a City or Precincts, as their President or Governour, which person immediately, and even in those very dayes, was peculiarly or eminently called the Bishop. To this President or Bishop it is certain the power of Ordination was committed by the Apostles, Tit. 1, 4. *For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain Elders in Every City as I had appointed thee.* And not onely this power, but the

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the outward rite used in the exercise hereof, is evident by many passages to *Timothy*, 1 Ep. V, 22. *Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other mens sin.* In other terms, *Ordain* no man to that Ministry for which he is unfit. By both these places it is plain, that these Presidents or Bishops had the power of Ordination given them by the Apostles; and by the later it appears, that *imposition of hands* was the outward rite used in conferring orders: as also by 2 *Tim.* I, 6. and by 1 *Tim.* IV, 14: where that by the *laying on of the hands of the Presbytery*, we are to understand the imposition of some other Apostles hands, who assisted St. Paul in the Ordination of *Timothy*, is most amply proved by the ever Venerable Dr. *Hammond* in his Annotations on *Acts* XI. last. Now that these persons, *Timothy* and *Titus*, were Bishops (& most probably Metropolitans) not onely the Postscripts of the Epistles directed to them, but constant tradition in all Church-story, and the very power in those Epistles mentioned to be given to them (Καὶ τὸ ἐπιτίθεσθαι τὰς χεῖρας ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι καὶ λόγῳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ)

the Language of *Theophylact*, the power of *Ordaining* and animadverting on or *judging* persons by them ordained) do beyond controverſie evince. To ſay as ſome have done, from 1 *Tim.* IV, 5, that they were onely *Evangelists*, is as good ſenſe as to ſay *St. Paul* was onely a *Deacon*, becauſe he ſometimes ſtiles himſelf *Διακον* (as *Ephes.* III, 7, &c.) word for word a *Deacon*, but we better render it *Minister*: and proportionably by doing the Work of an *Evangelist*, in the place to *Timothy*, we muſt underſtand doing the Work of a *Preacher*. There will be no end of confuſion, if we will not diſtinguiſh betwixt the general and natural import of words, and their particular, or, as I may ſtile it, their artificial and more limited acceptation. And it is worthy our noting here what *Zwinglius* tells us, *Apoſtolorum nomen depoſuerunt, ut primum uni alicui Eccleſiæ affixi, illius curam continuam habuerunt.*

“ Whatever title of dignity thoſe ſacred perſons had, if it were the *Apoſtleſhip* it ſelf, they laid aſide that title, when once being affixt to one par-

*Eccleſi-
aſtics
fol. 48.*

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“particular Church, they undertook
 “the continual care thereof. *Tunc
 non amplius Apostoli, sed Episcopi dicti
 sunt.* “Then they were no longer cal-
 “led Apostles, but Bishops. This he
 founds on *Acts XXI, 8*, interpreting *Ev-
 angelist* Bishop, for that *Philip* was Bi-
 shop of *Cæsarea*. Let then *Timothy* and
Titus have been first Evangelists, yet
 when affixt the one to *Ephesus*, the o-
 ther to *Crete*, they became truly Bi-
 shops of the respective Sees. And to
 them as Bishops; have we seen the
 power of Ordination to have been com-
 mitted by the Apostle; we are sure
 therefore to Bishops it was commit-
 ted.

Touching the solemnities used in this
 Office, we need not speak. There is
 none will doubt, but *imposition* of
 hands (the outward rite before assert-
 ed out of the Apostle) was accompa-
 nied by a *solemn benediction*; and we
 find *Fasting* and *Prayer* added hereto.
Acts XIII, 3. We will therefore acqui-
 esce herein, as the sincerest pattern or
 account of Primitive Ordinations.

That this power was committed to

meer Presbyters can never be proved. There are diverse of the Antients who expressly affirm, that at first, there were none of that second Order, which now we call Presbyters (or Priests) instituted; though it be certain that before *Ignatius* his time, that is, immediately after the decease of all the Apostles (except haply *St. John*) out of the world, they were come in into the Church. The Authorities may be seen in the place last cited of *Dr. Hammond's* Annotations: and more at large, in his fourth Dissertation against *Blondell* cap. 19, 20, 21, 22. Whether the Prophets or Teachers in the Primitive Church, received any other Ordination, but that of Deacons (that is, of being assistants to the Bishops) seems very questionable; and truly, I should rather determine it in the Negative, for that we find both *St. Stephen* and *St. Philip*, who were then certainly onely Deacons, to have been eminent in this way. It is therefore highly probable, that the Bishops and Deacons were, in the scripture-times, the onely ordained persons. And if so, it is then sure,

Pre

A&:
VII.

& VIII.

Presbyters never received the power of Ordination: for, having it not from the Apostles, because they are supposed an Order not in being in their times, that they had it not from the succeeding Bishops, is evident from the eldest Canons we have. *Apost. Can. 1, 2. & Constitut. Apost. Lib. 3. cap. 11, &c.* Indeed it were almost endless to reckon up the Ecclesiastical sanctions and authorities, which reserve Ordination as a peculiar prerogative of the Episcopal Order, and forbid presbyters solely to attempt any thing therein: nay really whatever assistance Presbyters contribute herein is, as far as I can find, by later Practice, and Law Ecclesiastical; though both undoubtedly upon grounds wholesome enough: However, according to the best evidences I can see, the Authority properly lies in the Bishop, and the Presbyters are assumed to him, onely for the security of the Church, and solemnity of the Action. And I may confidently say, there cannot be produced any one instance of sole presbyters undertaking to ordain other presbyters, or even Deacons, which

Vid.
23 Distinct.
Presbyter.

was not censured, at least as schismatical, if not Heretical, from the time of the Apostles, to the peoples casting out their Bishop at *Geneva*.

In the daies of the Great *Athanasius*, we find one *Colluthus* a Presbyter, who took upon him to ordain, and from whom *Ischyas*, one of *Athanasius* his most bitter adversaries, pretended to have derived his Orders: but in the Synodical Epistle of the *Ægyptian Council at Alexandria*, it is avowed Πᾶσι αὐτῷ Χριστῷ "All imposition of hands from him was void: and the reason is rendered, because Πρεσβύτερος αὐτὸς ἐτελεύτησεν "He died onely a presbyter: and therefore he is declared to have been Ἐν τῷ Χιζμᾷ in Schism, and all those who were ordained by him, communicated onely as Lay-persons.

In *Epiphanius* his dayes, as he himself tells us, *Aerius* was alive, whom though I do not find to have attempted the Ordination of any, yet the Father accuses him of Heresie, for that he asserted the Order of Bishops and Presbyters to be one and the same, and the honour and dignity equal: and he confutes

Extat
in A-
thanas.
Apöl.
2 Jâ,

Contr.
Hæ:
lib. 3.
Tot. 1
Hæ. 75

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utes him thus, *How is it possible that a Bishop and Presbyter should be equal, seeing the Order of Bishops is the Producer of Fathers, for it makes Fathers of the Church; whereas the order of Presbyters not being able to make Fathers, begets onely sons of the Church by the laver of regeneration, but not Fathers or Doctors: for how should a Presbyter make any other, having not the power of imposition of hands?*

There is nothing of weight I have met with in antiquity objectible against this, but what some may draw from the doctrine of St. Hierom, who upon diverse inducements (sufficiently detected by others) was not the greatest friend to the Episcopal Order. Yet though he teach, that at first Bishop and Presbyter were both one Order (which possibly may be true enough, if understood as it ought, they being but two Scripture names for the same thing, and the order which now we call presbyters, being of later date than Scripture, according to the judgment of diverse above-touched) and though he further tells us, the Bishop was set above the Pre-

sbyters onely for remedy of Schism, and so, that the difference of order and authority is onely of Ecclesiastical, not of Divine right (in which regard he could not be an *Aerian*, it not appearing that *Aerius* acknowledged any, even Ecclesiastical, disparity) yet in this point of Ordination, all who peruse him, however adversaries, if they will not obstinately contradict their senses, must confesse that he is more just to our Cause. For having endeavoured to equal both orders, as neer as he could, in this point yet he acknowledgeth the disparity in these words : *Quid enim facit, exceptâ Ordinatione, Episcopus, quod Presbyter non facit ?* " What " does a Bishop, excepting onely Or- " dination, which a Presbyter doth " not ? So that even in St. *Jerome's* judgment sole Presbyters might not ordain, I find indeed some other Authorities, produced, to prove the parity of Bishops and Presbyters out of the Antients, but upon examination of them I conceive, any otherwise than as at first the terms were synonymous, all those Authorities abused : And I will not trouble my Reader

Exam.
Part 2.
De Or-
din.

In Ep.
ad Eu-
agr.

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der with matters of this nature.

The English Reformation never varied this the Law and Practice of the Catholick Church: nor would the Foreign Reformers, could they have helped it. This is plain enough by the *Augustan* confession, to which not onely the *Lutheran* Doctours, but *Calvin* himself subscribed; *Facile possent Episcopi legitimam obedientiam retinere, &c.* Cap. de pote-
stat. eccl.

“The Bishops might easily retain the
“obedience due to them by Law (speaking of Popish Bishops) “would they
“not urge such Traditions which are
“against good conscience, & swear us not
“to teach the pure Doctrine of the Gospel, namely, the Reformed Religion. As
to *Calvinists*, the learned *Zanchy* “pro-
“tests in his conscience before God, he ac-
“counts all those no other than Schis-
“maticks, who made it a part of the Re-
“formation to have no bishops set above
“their Presbyters in a degree of authori-
“ty, where they may be had. And *Calvin*
himself adjudges, “There is no *Ana-*
“thema which such are not worthy of,
“who would not be subject with all du-
“tiful obedience to a Reformed Ho-

Inter-
opus.
in Fol.
Genev.
1611.
p. 69.

Pa 57.

"rarchy. The passage is mis-cited by some, as having been in his Epistle to *Sadolet*, but it is extant much more at large, than I have reported it, in his Book *De necessitate reſormandæ Ecclesiæ*. Now if they would have left the Bishops their lawful power, they must not certainly have invaded the power of Ordination: *Calvin* himself in the Book just now mentioned, acknowledged both the antiquity and wholesomeness of those Ecclesiastical sanctions, that at least three Bishops should join in the ordination of a Bishop, & in the ordination of a Presbyter, the Bishop should adjoin to himself a competent number of his presbyters: and accuses the popish Bishops of those dayes to have swerved from these Rules, to have lost their power according to those very sanctions by being Hereticks (which surely cannot be imputed to our Bishops) and propounds the conditions; upon which they might retain it. *Ut nominandi & ordinandi potestatem retineant, justum illud & serium doctrinæ vitæque examen restituant, &c.* " That they might retain their power of nominating and

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“ ordaining , let them restore due ex-
 “ mination of life and manners , which
 “ now for many ages is out of use a-
 “ mongst them. Let them cease to be
 “ enemies to sound Doctrine ; which
 certainly cannot , but with the great-
 est unreasonableness ; be imputed to
 the Bishops of our Church , whose Do-
 ctine , except in a very few contro-
 verted points , our very dissenters
 themselves will acknowledge sound ;
 and in those very points , if the sen-
 tence of better Judges than themselves
 may be heard , is sounder than their
 own. *Chemnitius* that learned *Luthe-*
ran , is yet more express. Answering
 that objection , Why the Ministry of
 the Reformed Church did not seek to
 be ordained by the popish Bishops , he
 allows , *Si veri essent Episcopi , & pro-*
fiterentur sanam doctrinam , rectè hoc si-
bì arrogarent. “ If they were true Bi-
 “ shops , and professed sound doctrine ,
 “ they might rightly claim this to them-
 “ selves. But he challenges them of
 laying aside the Work of true Bishops
 (viz. ministering in the Word and Sacra-
 ments) and refusing to ordain any

Exam.
 Conc.
 Trid.
 par. 2.
 De sacr.
 Ordin.

thereto, but to the offering the sacrilegious sacrifice of the Mass, &c. And though he deny the superiority of Bishops to Presbyters by Divine right, yet he allows it by Ecclesiastical law and Primitive practice, as St. *Hierom* did.

I will onely add, where any Bishops embraced the Reformed Doctrine, diverse of the Forreign Reformation, who were not ordained before, were so far from not acknowledging the power of Orders to be in them, that they sought for Ordination from them. Let us hear *George Prince of Anhalt*, a reformed Divine, and afterward Bishop of *Mersburg*. "I, saies he, supplicated by
 " my Chaplain Mr. *James Styre*, to the
 " Godly Bishop of *Brandeburg*, Reverend
 " *Matthias* of *Jagan*, who at that
 " time by Divine Grace both knew and
 " profest the Reformed Doctrine, and
 " had received the true use of the Sacraments, and abolished all evident
 " abuses in ordination, that he would
 " be pleased to ordain me: and he had
 " performed that office for me, as he
 " had now most readily promised me,
 " had not our gracious God called him
 out

In præ.
 fat. de
 ordin.
 fol. 62

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“ out of this life before the time : nor
“ was there then any other Bishop in
“ these Countries , which would per=
“ form it to me. Let the world now
judge , if the reason why these men
had not Episcopal ordination, were not
because in those parts at that time there
were no Bishops would join with them
in the Reformation. Such was, and is,
the state of those Churches ! They must
have Ministers and Sacraments as they
can ; and so the want of requisite or=
ders amongst them, is their Misery
rather than fault.

The utmost which has been taught , sect. 5.
within the Ages limited, with any al=
lowance in the Church, is either, what
our Dissenters, I presume, will be asham=
ed to own, or will not help their cause:
And 'tis, First, that the Pope, by reason
of his *plenitude of power* , may give such
a *Commission* to persons *not Bishops*, that
they may confer the *Lesser Orders*, that
is, those wherein *Absolution*, and the
consecrating the Eucharist is not con=
cern'd. This is the constant doctrine of
the Romish school-Divines and Canonists.
Hear the *Angelical Doctour* for them all
de.

deciding the point. *Collatio Ordinum alicui dupliciter convenire potest: aut de jure communi ratione sue ordinaria potestatis, aut ex indulgentiâ, sive generali, sive speciali, ratione commissionis: & hoc ultimo modo conferre ordines conuenit aliquibus, qui non sunt Episcopi.* Ordination by common right belongs only to Bishops: By special commission some Cardinal Presbyters, and by general certain Abbots, confer the lesser orders, that is, to the Subdiaconate inclusively: And the reason some of them give, is, because, even with them, those are no Sacraments. Would any man have thought, that the Pope himself, according to his own Doctours, could delegate no farther power of ordinations to Presbyters, however dignified, than that of making Subdeacons? Yet verily, so it is in their sense. And truly his very own creatures, the Fathers of Trent have given him no more. And even St. Hierom himself; however to repress the pride of some Deacons, who perkt up more than became their place, he sometimes magnifie the order of Presbyters, yet will not allow, that any

Thom.
in 4.
sent. 25.
Distin.
1. q. 1. a.

Estius
in 4.
sent.
Dist.
ead.

Ses. 23.
cap. 10.
de Re-
form.

Chap. III. Duty of Preaching. 711

persons not Bishops may ordain, though
in danger otherwise to want successours,
& thence proves some to have had no
successors because not being Bishops,
they could not ordain Clerks.

Contra
Lucife-
rian.

But, was not the Father in this point
too severe, & may not necessity dispense
with what his Holiness's Doctours seem
not to allow he may? Yes certainly may
it, or else God help some Churches: To
come then secondly, to what has been
said most favourably of Non-Episcopal
Ordination. It has been taught, though
not by so many before the Reforma-
tion, as some seem to have pretended,
that in case of necessity, & where Bishops
cannot be had, Presbyters may ordain
Presbyters. *Presbyterum Presbyteros or-
dinare posse, concedit cum Magistro sen-
tentiarum, sanior pars Scholasticorum,*
ut patet ad sent. 4. D. 25, saith Bishop
Prideaux. What Consecratories the Bishop
might draw from the Masters words, I
know not, but I find no such thing expre-
sed, nor so much as fairly insinuated by
the Master: and for *pars sanior* I am not
judge enough to speak, but I am sure the
pars major upon that distinction are a-

Falsic.
Contr.
pag:
249.

X x x x

gainst

gainst it, and not one that *I* have seen on the Text (at least expressly) for it. Their *probleme* indeed (and as no other is it disputed amongst them) *Whether Episcopacy be a distinct Order, or onely an higher degree of the same Order, may seem to have some tendency this way; in which point their Doctours are divided very much. But I will acknowledge these words in Alex. de Hales. Similiter dicunt, quod ex demandatione Papæ, Ordinatus potest conferre ordinem quem habet.* “ Some teach, that by authority from the Pope, a person in “ Orders may confer the Order he has; & we will suppose this delegation onely in case of Necessity. But, would any of our Classi- cal presbyters be content to fetch their authority thence? I suppose not, when a certain great man of Geneva would rather acknowledge Calvin never to have been ordained at all (and so to have been without any ordinary Call) than own him (*Papisticis ordinibus initiatus*) in orders in the Church of Rome, though Polsec- tells us he was, and officiated some time in a Cure at Noyon in Piccardy. Again Richardus

Par: 4:
q. 9.
memb.
5. & 1.

Beza,
in vit.
Calvin,

In vit:
Calv.

Chap. III. Duty of Preaching. 713

du Armachanus, whom *Bellarmin* will not allow to have been Orthodox touching the power of Presbyters, is indeed more absolute, and hangs not this authority on the Pope. *Videtur quod si omnes Episcopi simul essent defuncti, sacerdotes minores possent ordinare Episcopos.* "It would seem, that if all the Bishops were dead together, priests of inferior order (*viz.* presbyters) might ordain Bishops: that is, they might choose out of themselves an ordained person, a presbyter, whom they might consecrate or set apart as Bishop: but he does not say, they might ordain a person, that never was ordained, though that may be acknowledged as a consectary thence. I must therefore say still, that I want an express antient authority for this doctrine, even in case of necessity. And it is very considerable, God from the beginning never suffered the Christian Church to be reduced to this Necessity, which possibly is the reason that the case was not of old more narrowly sifted and determined.

But though to deal sincerely, I cannot find such antient authority, yet I do see some reason, which may plead

Descrip-
tor
Eccl.
Ann.
1359.
Quest:
Armen.
l: 11 c. 7.

for it. It is certain (1) Necessity does many times warrant those violations of positive Laws, which it enforceth: it is not so indeed in Natural Laws, the obligation of which I conceive no necessity can take off. We know who taught us, *I will have mercy and not sacrifice.* Rather than have no Sacraments, no publick Worship, no Order in the Church, uncanonical Ordination (by sole presbyters I mean) might be admitted, which I conceive to be the case of divers of the Forreign Reformed Churches, and it may be was the case of some particular persons amongst us, in the end of our late Civil Wars. And (2) though it be true, *Nil dat quod non habet*, yet there seems some natural reason, that a man may confer the power, that he has. The main power then that presbyters pretend to, being that of administering the Sacraments, preaching, and otherwise officiating in the publick Worship, and there being, no doubt, but generally all presbyters at their Ordination, received this power, what should hinder, but they may convey or propagate it, that

Chap. III. Duty of Preaching. 715

that is, ordain Presbyters? If any say Canonical Sanction hinders, I allow it, and both acknowledge, & have proved, regularly they cannot; because though they received power to minister as abovesaid, yet not power of themselves to transmit or confer on others such power. Yet forasmuch as the power of governing the Church, our Lord Jesus being departed out of the World, devolved regularly to his Apostles, whom he had appointed, and the same power, after the decease of the Apostles, devolved to the Bishops whom they had ordained, so put the case (which *Armachanus* above does) that all the Order of Bishops were extinct (or, which is much the same, were Heretical, enemies to the true doctrine of the Gospel, and would ordain none but first sworn to maintain that enmity) who shall say but the power of Ordination justly enough devolves to such Catholick and Orthodox Presbyters? And that the rather, because as the true Church is by the promise of Christ to continue to the end of the World, and he has obliged himself so long to be with

it, so he being supposed by such extinction of the superiour Order, to have providentially cast the supreme propagative power in Spirituals upon such Presbyters, at least within such Territories or parts of the World, who shall say (admitting still that they profess, believe and teach [*quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus*]) the true antient Catholick Faith, and are publickly desirous of that antient regular Unity, which through the fate of their circumstances, they cannot attain) who I say shall implead these men, that they violate the orders and appointments of Christ Jesus? This, I say again, I take to be the case of most of the Forreign Reformed Churches: they do strictly for the main, hold the true Catholick Faith; they had very few of the Episcopal Order (in many parts none) who would admit the Reformation, or ordain any who would not abjure it; the Order therefore thus amongst them became morally extinct: they were and are, as far as their circumstances will admit, desirous of the regular Unity and Discipline all along maintain-
ed

Chap.III. Duty of Preaching. 717

ed, in the Catholick Church(Much hath been said already evidencing this, more might be added, not onely out of the first reformers, but out of some principal Doctours of those Churches now alive) I must therefore not onely acquit, but justify those Churches, and that upon the grounds given ; in this behalf.

But this is not at all the case of our dissenters. It is one thing for Presbyters thus deserted and abandoned by their Hereticall Bishops, to assemble and ordein, where there can be, or will be suffered, no Ordination by Orthodox and truly Catholick Bishops; and another thing for them to thrust out such Bishops, usurp their office, and refuse Ordination from them. This was not at all the practice of those reformed Churches.

Utinam sicut nomina, &c. " O that our " Bishops, (say their Doctors) as they bear " the names and titles, so would in good " earnest perform the offices of Bishops! " O that they would teach agreeably " to the Gospell, or faithfully govern " their Churches according to it ! Oh " how willingly & with what joy of heart " would we accept, reverence, and obey " them

Sect. 6.

Georg:
Princ.
Anhalt
de Or-
din:
in Præ-
fate.

“them as Bishops, yield them their due
 “jurisdiction, and both attribute Ordina-
 “tion to them, and without refuse all
 “take it from them: The same thing
 “which both I alwaies, and Dr. *Luther*
 “himself very often, both by word of
 “mouth and in writeing, nay and in
 “publick sermons in the Cathedrall
 “Church of Mersburg, have protested
 “and promised: This is not to throw
 out Protestant Reformed Bishops, to
 make head, even after their restaura-
 tion, against their power, and to op-
 pose ordination from them, contrary to
 the Lawes of the Catholick Church,
 and even of our own Kingdome.

To come then to an issue in short: I
 say no man in these Realms can make
 out a *Call* to the Ministry who at least has
 not received *Episcopall Ordination*. The
 necessity of an outward call has been
 already evidenced, and more much
 might be said, that an inward call Suf-
 ficeth not: For though a man were sup-
 posed sufficiently assured in his own con-
 science, to warrant his own practice be-
 fore God, yet except there be some
 outward testimony of this mission, man,
 can

Chap. III. Duty of Preaching. 719

cannot; and then, as to the world, such person has no call (*De non existentibus & non apparentibus eadem ratio*) and consequently his Ministry is of no authority. Even our Lord Jesus himself, as he *took not this Office upon himself, but being called by God, as was Aaron*, so neither did he content himself with a meer inward Call. *The Heavens were opened, and the spirit of God descended like a Dove, and lighted upon him. And lo, a voice from Heaven, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; Hear ye him.* Behold here an outward sensible Call from Heaven, and the first instance of it antecedent to our Lords preaching. Besides that all along, *The works which he did, testified of him.* Now, such a Call as this, none now adays can pretend. Those therefore, who will prove their Mission from God, must be content to own it to be from him *mediately, viz.* by the Ministry of men authorised by God. Now, God having committed *all power into the hands of Christ*, none can convey this power of Ministry, but those who have it from Christ and

Hebr.
V. 4.

Mat. III
16, 17.
& XVII
5.

his Apostles, and their successors duly sent. And then, according to the constant Doctrine of the Holy Catholick Church, evidently founded on Scripture, no persons otherwise ordained (except haply in case of inevitable necessity) than by Bishops, can pretend to an outward Call. It will not avail our dissenters to say, they were necessitated to accept such irregular ordination, (which, according to the Doctrine of the Catholick Church, I have said to be null) for they may have their imperfect ordination compleated, or be regularly ordained, if they please. It will not suffice them to say, they have as good an outward Call as the Ministry in the Forreign Churches: for in diverse of them they have Bishops; in others where they have not the *name*, they have the *thing*; and where they have neither, they have a *necessity*, in a manner *invincible*, to plead for this irregularity. In a word, our men have not so much of an outward Call, as we have seen even *Zwinglian*ism it self avowes necessary; they cannot say they were *chosen by the people with the approbation* of

Chap. III. Duty of Preaching. 721

of godly Bishops. Nay, they have not so much of an outward Call, as *Erastus* himself would allow of: They are not chosen by the people with the approbation of the Magistrate; our King, both by his Laws and Proclamations, interdicting this their pretended Ministry. There being then none of the antient, none of present Reformed Churches, whose Doctrine or practice will own this practice of theirs, they hereby cut themselves off, from the Body of Christ; and how they will escape the grievous guilt of Schism, if my words would signifie any thing, *I* would beseech them in the fear of God, and with tender regard to their own souls, and the souls of such whom they draw into Schism with them, that they would consider.

But besides the sin of Schism, *I* fear they may, when they please to be impartial, find some farther guilt in this their practice: For having no due Call to the Ministry, they are *intruders* into that sacred Office; intruders too (generally) upon a double account. First, as usurping the Office: Second-

ly, as exercising that Office *in provinciâ alienâ*, in other mens bounds, and without their consent, where, if these men were lawfully ordained, yet they had nothing to do to intermeddle; at least so far, as, on the dayes, and at the very hours of publick Worship, to *set up altar against altar*, and not onely foment, but propagate separations. I will not use one exasperative word, but if either scripture, or reason (not to speak any thing of the authority of the Catholick, or our particular Church, which possibly some little value) if these, I say, or the rules of common and natural justice, signifie any thing amongst them, let them remember, that St. Paul, however as St. Chrysostome somewhere styles him (ὁ τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διδασκαλίας) *the Teacher of the Universe*, declined, as far as might be, to interpose within other mens compass: let them consider, were they lawfully entitled to the care of those Flocks, and bound to give an account to God for the souls of such of them as miscar-ry, which we are, how they would take from us, such practice as this of theirs;

Chap. II. Duty of Preaching. 723

theirs? Especially, when they must acknowledge us, neither *negligent*, nor it may be, comparatively to themselves, *insufficient* for our charge: Let them assign to themselves or the world, what end of confusions and schismes there can possibly be, if it shall be lawful, when we are all agreed upon necessary truths, for every one that thinks he has better gifts, or a more effectual way of instilling Godliness and spiritual Truths into the hearts of men, without any publick approbation, or so much as promise by him given, that he will keep to the Common Faith, to enter into other mens Charges, and draw away as many as he can to his new waies. Upon these Principles how can they forbid Papists, Anabaptists, Quakers, and all like sorts, to do daily the same to them, they do to us? Nay, do not these people, upon the same reasons, every day do the same to them? And how can they condemn those who *mete by their own measures*? It is truly, and most reasonably, stated by Learned Dr. *Field*, that there are
 “ Three things implied in the calling of

Of the
 Church
 l. 3. c.

39.

" Ecclesiastical Ministers. First, An
 " Election or Designment of persons fit
 " for so high and excellent imploiment.
 Secondly, " The consecrating of them,
 " and giving them power and authori=
 " ty to intermeddle with things per=
 " taining to the service of God. Third=
 " ly, the assigning and dividing to
 " each man thus sanctified, that porti=
 " on of Gods people which he is to
 " take care of. And it is certain, both
 from scripture and antiquity, that the
 Apostles of Christ, and their immedi=
 ate successours, commonly so divided
 those whom they had converted, that
 each City, and the places adjoining,
 made up but one Church. Now this
 assignation intitling then the *Pastours*
 to their Flocks, should any in the A=
 postles dayes have come from another
 City, and intermeddled in a City as=
 signed to others (from *Ephesus* suppose
 to *Corinth*) and out of the Faithful
 there, under pretence of greater gifts,
 or a purer way, gathered a particular
 Church, and set up a way of Worship
 in opposition to that maintained by the
 regular Ministry of that Church, would
 not

Chap. III. Duty of Preaching. 725

not this have been then adjudged both a *schism*, and an *intrusion*? Or could such New-comer, because several people followed him, and preferred his Ministry, avow he had a due call to the Ministry in such place? Admit but this practice lawfull, and withall but suppose, that in a multitude there are some giddy, and not a few taken with Novelties, and there will be no end of divisions. And this is plainly the case betwixt the Non-conforming Preachers and our selves. In summe then, these pretenders to a *necessity of preaching*, having no call, neither to the Office (most of them) nor (any) to the exercise of it where they do exercise it, Reason & justice are so far from allowing any necessity to lye upon them to preach, in the present sense, that if they would, all circumstances considered, duly apply the Text of St. Paul, instead of saying, *Wo be to us if we preach not*, they ought to say, *Wo be to us if* (in these circumstances) *we preach*; as exceeding the bounds of our *Calling*, and at once transgressing the rules of Justice, in doing otherwise than we would
be

704 Of the Office and Chap. III.
be done by, and together the Laws of
God, of the Catholick Church, of this
Church, and of the Realm.

Set. 7.
Luke
9.

But they will say, they are bound in
conscience: They have *put their hands*
to the plough, and are not to look back;
the *Flocks* which they *feed* are their
own, and have *chosen* them for their
Pastours; there is a *Covenant* entred be-
twixt them and their Flocks, and there
rises hence a spiritual consanguinity, all
which obligations they cannot in con-
science violate.

This is but the same thing over again
in other words, and to give it likewise an
answer over again in other words: Con-
science, or the practical judgment,
when it acts contrary to, or besides its
rule, is not conscience, but imaginati-
on, erroneous conceit, arrogance, or
obstinacy, as the case stands: It is
plain by the premisses, that the rule
in this case dictates the contrary, and
therefore there can be no sound process
of Conscience in the matter; what there
is of the Evils taxed, it concerns them
who are guilty, respectively to consi-
der,

More

Chap. III. Duty of Preaching. 727

More particularly, as to the points pretended to oblige conscience; We would perswade none, who have given themselves up to God for the service of his Church in the Ministry, to revoke their own act; let them serve therein as they are capable: but then let them *enter by the door*, and not, by *climbing* in some indirect way, be so injurious to themselves, as to draw on themselves the guilt of being *thieves* and *robbers*. Oh! how willingly would we see them regular Preachers, reforming and reducing the schisms they have been guilty of making, or aecessory to, and drawing in the same yoke with our selves! What joy would it be to us, what comfort to themselves one day, and what benefit at present to the Church, for them to employ their parts and zeal, to peace, unity, charity and true Christianity! But this can never be done by the course they take: *They that gather not with us, scatter abroad.*

Then, as to meer popular Election intitling them to the care of such particular portions of the Flock of Christ, and so making a Call, this pretence is

partly false, partly schismatical. If we should come to a *Poll* in the parishes where they preach, they would not have in most places, one fourth, in diverse, not one tenth man: I am modest in the account. But they are chosen by those by whom they are chosen, and so they are intitled to these. Such popular Election, I say, is schismatical, and 'tis already proved such. For either these men themselves, or their predecessors, seduced the people from their lawful Pastours into such privy Assemblies, and this made the schism: and the schism being thus made, to accept of the choice of such a people, and, by virtue of it, to head them, is to maintain and propagate the schism.

The same too is to be said touching any Church Covenant, as they call it, entred into by such pretended Pastour and Flock. And let it be judged whether, if any, or all these pretences, would make up a due Call, all Hereticks and Sectaries in the world, who have but any numbers, might not avow the same. And what end, I say, can there then be of Confusion, Division, and

Chap. III. Duty of Preaching. 729

and *every evil work*? It is plain therefore, the pretence of meer conscience upon these or like grounds, is most frivolous, and would serve any the most erroneous, schismatical, or Enthusiastick parties in the world.

But some, possibly, may say, if Sect. 8.
Ordination by sole Presbyters be valid in any case, why not in all? The persons ordaining being supposed still of the same Order, why should not the virtue & efficacy be still the same? Now, the validity of Presbyters ordaining, has been acknowledged in the case of some; and more cases may be imagined, in which, necessity may press as much: As, suppose some Presbyters (or even private Christians) were cast on an **Heathen** Island, where, in process of time they converted the inhabitants to the Faith, but could come at no Bishop who might ordain a competent number of Ministers, nor even successors for themselves; might not these Priests lawfully ordain others, and should not such Ordination be valid? And allowing this, that such Ordination, be to the persons so ordained, a

good and effectual outward Call to the Ministry, how can it be said in other cases, that those who were sent by sole Presbyters, which are still of the same order and power, have not a like good and effectual Call, and so, as much *necessity lying on them to preach?*

To the Objection, I say, No man, that I know, ever accounted Ordination valid, upon any supposal of certain *internal qualifications* or virtues thereby imparted. If the validity thereof did ly meerly in some such supposed Communications, it were true, admitting these Communications to be still the same (as there is little reason not to admit it) it were true, I say, that Ordination from Presbyters being valid in case of Necessity, would be valid also otherwise; the persons, at least, the Order, and consequently the Communications being the same. But all, that Ordination confers, is a *Power to officiate in holy things*; now to the conferring of such a Power, it is evidently requisite, that he who confer it, have himself received power to confer it (otherwise his act is null): And this power

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Chap. III. Duty of Preaching. 731

er he must have, either in Ordinary method and due regular course, or by some extraordinary means; of which, besides Revelation, I know none assignable, but invincible Necessity. Now, though perhaps no man will say, that such Necessity puts any *new internal virtues* into any Office, yet, I conceive, it cannot reasonably be denied, but that it casts a *lawful power* in many cases upon men, which otherwise they would not have; namely, it invests them with that *Right*, which by *Law Positive* they have not.

Now, as to the particular case put, for the corroborating the Objection: Touching such Priests (nay, even such private Christians, if it should so happen) thus necessitated to ordain, it might rationally be said *The seal of their* 1. Cor. *Apostleship*, were those Converts *in the* IX.2. *Lord. If they were not* Bishops, nay, even *Apostles unto others*, yet doubtless were they Apostles to such people. In express terms, their local separation from all Bishops, joined with the consideration of their success, would provisionally constitute them Bishops (or

more) at least impower them to Episcopal acts for the present Necessity , if not invest them with a right to preside in , and govern those Churches , as the Apostles (several of them) did the Churches which were of their conversion. But there are two things here to be noted : First , that this providence would as truly impower Lay-men to ordain, as Presbyters; and so it helps not all those with whom we have to do. And secondly , 'tis worthy to be remembred , that this is an *imaginary case* , which is not known , as far as I can understand , to have come to pass. St. *Philip* indeed (we will suppose the Deacon) converted *Samaria* , but no fate or Necessity precluded his recourse to the Apostles at *Jerusalem* ; and S. *Peter* and S. *John* were sent down to the *Samaritan Church* for the regular Constitution thereof. *Socrates* also reports, that *Aedesius* & *Fruventius* (according to his relation) without doubt Lay- persons, converted a certain Tract of *Indians* to Christianity ; but having had success at first , on some smaller number of the people , *Fruventius* came over

Eccel:
Hitor:
lib: 1. c.
15.

Chap. III. Duty of Preaching. 733

ver to *Athanasius* the great, then Bishop of *Alexandria*, and desired of him he would be pleased to send a Bishop, and some Priests for assistance, over to the *Indians*, for the fuller conversion of the Countrey: upon which *Frumentius* himself, being by *Athanasius* adjudged the fittest man to be their Bishop, was by him ordained Bishop; who therefore soon returned, carrying with him diverse Priests, and the success was great: So constantly has Providence own'd and maintained this Holy Order, that the Divine indulgence seems never to have neglected it, never to have settled a Church without it!

I shall not suppose I need to say any more for the asserting the Validity of Ordinations in the *Calvinian*, and diverse of the *Lutheran* Churches (pardon me if for distinctions sake I use the names) where they had no Bishops at the Reformation; or for the disengaging my discourse from any objections, which may be made from my Concessions or Assertions in that behalf. Those Churches *themselves* will acknowledge themselves to have been all along much unsettled, though

Melch:
Adam.
Vit:
Germ.
Theol.
P:246.

though some of them made to themselves Bishops, according to *Armachanus* his way above mentioned (Such was the Ordination of *George Prince of Anhalt* to the Bishoprick of *Mersburg*, according as the Letters testimonial thereof, penn'd by *Melancton*, and extant in the *Prince's* life, report) & so arrived neerer to a regular Constitution: And all other persons of the Reformed Religion, who will hear reason, must allow something extraordinary in that great revolution of the Reformation.

Sect. 9.

I shall rather therefore praise God, and admire the peculiar favour of his Providence towards the *English* Church above most, if not all other Churches of the Reformation; against which Church even Envy her self, had it been possible to have stopt her mouth, must in this regard, have been eternally silent. It pleasing God, in the *beginning*, to encline the hearts of our Princes, and Bishops, as well as diverse of the greatest quality, towards the Reformation, when the *Fulness of time*, according to the Divine disposal, was now come, there were several of our Bishops, touching

Chap. III. Duty of Preaching. 735

ching whose regular Ordination no men, who were not blind with malice, could move any question, which appeared, as became their places, in the front of the Reformers: insomuch that the very *Romanists* themselves, when they will be just to their own Consciences, and candidly speak their genuine sentiments, must needs acknowledge (as some of them in effect have done) that we no more want due succession of Bishops regularly ordained than themselves; and possibly we shall not find the succession, in our Prelates, through whose hands it hath come, at any time so fowly tainted, as it has often been in the pretended Holy Chair. However, on all hands, our Ministerial power is secure. Let Episcopacy be of the strictest *divine* right any can imagine, we cannot for want thereof be convicted ever to have been unchurched; Let it be onely of *Ecclesiastical* right, none can implead us as irregular; Nay, let any tell us, our Bishops by the Reformation became Hereticks, and were excommunicated as such by the *Roman Church* (as we know in reality our

A a a a whole

whole Church is now)yet till *Rome* disclaim the Doctrine of her own Schools, touching the Validity of Orders from Bishops turned Hereticks and cut off from the Church , they can never , by their own principles , invalidate our Ordination , or pretend against us , as they do against others , that we have neither Priests nor Sacraments. I see no need to take notice of some devised Fables amongst them , which besides , that even themselves , as well as others , have long since been known in private to have laught at , as ingenicus pieces of Drollery , have been sufficiently detected and exploded in the face of the World. I may therefore truly rejoyce , we are , in this behalf , above both their Arguments and their Calumnies.

And as to those Dissenters , who may seem to be risen out of our own bowels , whatsoever some of them , who are too much inclined to Enthusiasms , may impute to a few of us , touching our want of what they call *Gifts* , yet they must acquit the generality even in this case ; and so acknowledge , as much as man is capable to judge of , as to our inward
Call :

Call: but touching the regularity of our Outward Mission, they have no pretence of reason to oppose to us. They must allow our Bishops to be Presbyters at least, and then the Bishops never ordaining any Presbyters, but by the assistance of other Presbyters (to which and other purposes, they have a standing Council of grave and learned Divines commonly resident in their Churches, called in ordinary language, the *Dean and Chapter* of the Church) they cannot deny, but all Presbyters amongst us were ordained by the *imposition of the bands of the Presbytery*. Further, in the Assignment of his charge to each of us, though as some contend (without any sufficient reason) the people ought alwayes to have their choice, yet, because the consequences of such popular Elections in innumerable instances have been, and would still be found to be of most wretched and mischievous influence (for which cause such proceedings have been in a great measure laid aside in the Church now these many ages) therefore no sober person can say, that such

choice is essential to any mans outward Call to the Ministry in this or that place. Notwithstanding it very seldome comes to pass, that any Minister is intituled to any Parochial Charge, without the consent either of some particular Chief persons amongst them, or of the person (of old) intrusted by the people to nominate for them the Patron, or of the generality of them themselves; though if the people should be some time imposed upon for their good, as we may have seen it in some cases to have fallen out, they have no reason to complain of the injury. However sure it is, for the main, no man can be either Ordained, or instituted into any Benefice, against whom any of the Laity can make any just exceptions; provided those who have such exceptions to make, will be faithful and diligent enough to bring them in in season, and undertake the proof of them: The contrary pretence, if made by any, proceeds either from ignorance of our Church-laws, or from malicious calumny. So that I say still, though the people have not their plenary choice, or sole nomination, yet the Laws

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Laws and practice of our Church provide for securing their right of approbation, or (at least) tacit consent. Some imperfections there will be in all Churches while on earth, but truly as few in our Church (especially in this behalf of the Mission of her Clergy) as in any that I know under Heaven.

*I joy, dear Mother, when I view
Thy perfect lineaments and hue.—
Blessed be God, whose love it was,
To double moat thee with his Grace,
And none but thee.*

Mr.
Herbert
The
British
Church

But I shall too far digress: The summe is, it is apparent, that as to our most clamorous pretenders to a *Necessity of preaching*, and to a tender dread of a *Wo to them if they preach not*, in the present sense, as to all I mean, who are not called to the Ministry as before stated, the case is directly contrary; They ought not in these circumstances to preach, they sin in diverse regards in so doing; and, I hope, they will not in express terms aver, they are under a *Necessity* of living in a course of known sin: Their pretences for themselves, against our Church, their cries

for that order which there is in other **Reformed Churches**, are so far from being just, that we have all reason to admire and adore the singular favour of **God** towards our Church in its happy regularity above others: and if they would have reformed according to the *Pattern of the best Reformed Church* in being, they ought not to have altered the constitution of ours, but conformed themselves thereunto.

Señ, 10,

It will be said now, Does there then ly a *Necessity* upon all who are *duly called*, to *preach*. So that *Wo be to them if they preach not*, as now we take Preaching?

Before this can be directly answered, there must be two considerables premised. First, that there being *diversities of Gifts*, and *diversities of Administrations*, all men are not by their very Ordination, designed to the same part or kind of Ministering. We have seen it was not so even in the very Primitive dayes: All *Elders* that *ruled well*, did notwithstanding *labour in the Word and Doctrine*. Besides, it has been made evident, that the name *Preaching* is

Chap. II. Duty of Preaching . 741

is now become a Term of Art, and signifies with us, what *Tractate* did with the *Latine* Fathers, to make in publick a kind of Commentary, with occasional Exhortations and Applications, on some Text of Scripture, or to instruct the Faithful on some particular subject: now this is not the same with bare publication of the Gospel, or the old and proper Preaching. All in Orders have authority to preach, or publish the Gospel, by *publick solemn reading* of it; but all have not authority to make thereon publick *comments* of their own. This difference is intimated in the very *Form of Ordination*. To the *Deacon* it is said, Take thou Authority to read the Gospel in the Church of God, and to preach the same, if thou be licensed thereto by the Bishop himself. But to the Priest, Take thou authority to preach the Word of God, and to administer the Sacraments, &c. It is very certain from Antiquity, that Preaching, in the present sense, was long reserved as a peculiar of the Bishop (*Πρεσβυτερος κηρυττει*, in *Justin Martyr*.) and some tell

Rit.
Conc.
lib. 2.
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Can. 5

us, it is still in the Eastern Church. But yet that it was early required of the Presbyters, we have already seen out of the pretended Apostolical Constitutions; and *Ferrarius* has many more authorities, to which I refer the Reader. But it is sure, 'twas onely committed to the more learned and eminent of the Presbyters at first (especially in great Churches) *Episcopus autem quos doctos viderit, &c.* Thus much must be acknowledged also to be the meaning of that Canon of the *Cæsar Augustan* Council, *Nequis Doctoris nomen sibi imponat, præter has personas, quibus est concessum, secundum quod scriptum est.* "Let
"no one impose upon himself the name
"of a Doctour, besides those to whom
"it hath been granted, according as it
"is written. The Council, I presume, refer to *Hebr. V. 4, No man taketh this Office upon him, &c.* And I cannot conceive what *Licences* to preach should signifie, when granted even to Presbyters, if all Presbyters by their Ordination had received equal power to preach in the present sense, as some pretend.

Secondly, All who have received
power

Chap. III. Duty of Preaching. 743

power to preach, are not to exercise it at liberty where they please, but in the places assigned to them. This is again apparent by the very Form of Ordination: *Take thou Authority to preach, &c. in the Congregation where thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereto.* God is not the *God of Confusion*, but of *Order*; and *The Spirit of the Prophets are subject to the spirits of the Prophets.* Preachers may often hear as well as preach, and it will as well become them (*in loco*) in place and time convenient. By the Lawes of the Church, Men are not generally ordained without Titles (The Antients held all such Ordinations void) And being ordained, they are appointed to exercise their Ministry in the particular places, to which they are limited, within such a sphere, and at times and seasons allowed. Men must not ^{'Anas- tasinus'} interpose themselves into other mens Charges, or thrust their *sickle* into anothers *Harvest*, but each attend what he is authorised to, and in his own sphere. This the Lawes of God, the Lawes of the Church, and al

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wholesome Rules of Polity require.

These things being thus premised, I say, Every Minister who is called to preach, that is, who is licenced, and has his place assigned him wherein he is to preach, taking preaching in the sense the people commonly take it at present, is in duty bound so to preach, and to preach ordinarily as often as the Law for the present allows, and his own abilities and due attendances on other parts of his Ministry will bear. And for proof hereof, I argue by parity of Reason, from such passages, as that Text of St. Paul's, touching himself, so often mentioned, *A Necessity is laid upon me, and wo be unto me, if I preach not*; and that of his to Timothy, *I charge thee therefore before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead at his appearance, Preach the Word: Be instant in season, and out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long suffering and Doctrine, and from other like places.* From whence, in brief, I say, if St. Paul having an extraordinary and immediate Call, had a necessity lay on him to preach the Go-

Señ. II

2. Tim.

IV, 1, 1.

Chap. III. Duty of Preaching. 745

Gospel in that extraordinary way, wherein he was called, if *Timothy* being called in somewhat a more ordinary way, was in his Charge to be instant in *Preaching* (to the yet *Heathens* perhaps) in *Doctrine* (to the faithful) in *reproofs*, *rebukes*, *exhortations*, to all, both *in season and out of season*, then we also who are yet in a more ordinary way to teach and build up the Faithful, and convince Gainfayers, are to be diligent in our Ministry, to reprove, rebuke, exhort, as we have occasion and ability, that is, in our present language, we are to preach as *often*, as we *well can* and *may*.

It is true, I have above mentioned several other kinds of preaching, besides this publick in our pulpits, and those kinds no less necessary in every Parish than is this. Resolving cases of conscience, private instructions and rebukes to particular persons as they need them, conduct and counsel to the sick, instructing children in the understanding of the Catechism, and even occasional religious discourses with neigh-

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bours, may be truly enough reduced to the general head of preaching: and we find very often more good done in these methods, wherein we have the advantage of interlocution and mutual exchanging words, than in publick Sermons; at least, these make our Sermons more useful: Nor can it be thought, that publick Sermons either should thrust out these, or any wise commute for the neglect of them. But in common language we do not call these preaching: however they will be understood to be comprehended under that term, *Due attendance on other parts of our Ministry.* Now, I say, these being supposed done, I conceive every Minister, as far as his abilities will bear, bound ordinarily to preach upon all Licit, and usual opportunities. For it seems plain to me, that Divine injunctions and precedents, interpreted by parity of reason, thus far reach us.

Sec. 12.

Further, Secondly, though much might be said, and something suddenly shall, touching the need of preaching (whatsoever some are pleased to think) yet at pre-

Chap. III. Duty of Preaching. 747

present we will onely say, Whether it be really needful, or not, does not much vary the case; it is sufficient to make it necessary that the people think it so, and will not generally be satisfied without its frequency. In the beginning of the Reformation, as there was much need of *preaching*, by reason of the gross ignorance the people had been long kept in, so there was all diligence used to procure and set it up every where, as much and as often as the state of the age would bear; and this vastly furthered the protestant Cause: Now people will not be persuaded, but the Armes which got us the *victory*, are still fit for our *defence*; what at first promoted so much the Protestant Religion, is a proper and natural mean to maintain it, and give it all advantages. We see there is scarce any publick Office of Religion, that the greater part of men amongst us would not rather part with, than Sermons; and though this should be admitted to be, as much perhaps it is, their weakness and want of judgment, yet *we that are strong, ought to bear the*

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XV.
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infirmities of the weak, and not to please our selves. Let every one of us please his neighbour for his good to edification: For even Christ pleased not himself. The same was our Apostles Practice as well as Doctrine, *I am all things to all men, if by any means I might save some.* Both our Lord and his Apostles seem to have made it their business, though with the greatest dis-ease and pain to themselves, to humour the weaker sort into Christianity, and to have complied with them, till they had won them to a reciprocal compliance. And sure we cannot think our selves wiser than these so great Masters in gaining souls. But admit it were not our duty by so great labours, as our frequent preaching comes to, to comply with the weaker sort, who think it needful perhaps when it is not, yet still, except we think the loss of them is not to be regarded, it will be necessary to maintain it a while to instruct them better, to shew them the matters which are more needful, and to convince them of their mistaken judgment; all which will not be done on a sudden, nor with a few Sermons.

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A third Argument then which may evince the Necessity lying on us thus frequently to preach, is not onely the expectation, but the condition and real needs of our people, the several wants they are under. Now to make this as evident as I can in a few words: I say there is no sort of people amongst us whatsoever, but have need thereof more or less. I will for our present occasion distinguish our people a little otherwise than I did towards the close of my first Discourse.

We may look on the *multitude* as made up of three sorts of men; Of persons settled in some profession of Religion upon *rational* grounds and inducements, Of many more who are *zealous* for some particular profession out of *passion* or *interest*, but in truth unsettled in any, and Of a far greater number who are indeed *indifferent* to all professions, and if they are addicted to one more than another, it is onely because the stream now carries them that way. To each of these it will appear upon consideration, that our present Preaching is needful.

As to the first, those I mean, who
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have addicted themselves to some one profession of Religion out of a rational choice; the choice these men have made, is either right or wrong. If they have chosen, and are serious in the true Religion (which sort of men God knows we must lament, is far the fewest) yet is Preaching in the sense we take it, needful even to those, *to stir up their pure minds by way of remembrance.* They do not need it may be so long Sermons, because *they know these things*; but they do need frequent and moving ones, because humane nature is subject to inadvertency, dullness, and forgetful security. The best men find reason to complain of dead hearts; & besides, *he that thinketh he standeth, let him take heed lest he fall.* Now Sermons are singular helps (and perhaps unparallelable) ones in these regards: they call home the ranging soul, they fix the uncomposed, they quicken the dull, they awaken and raise up those who are slain, they strengthen those who stand, and call all to their watch. But if any on the other side are mistaken in their choice, and seem rational-
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ly settled in a bad way (as there are too many who can argue shrewdly for their errors) there is to these much more need of preaching, to unsettle them first, and then to fix them aright: which perhaps being a difficult and tedious Work, will require more labour, and longer and frequenter contention of discourse, both in publick and private, than some who have not very fresh experience in these things will easily imagine.

Now for the second sort, men who have a passionate zeal for some one Religion, but are in truth ungrounded, and not well perswaded of the truth of Religion in general: The present age abounds with such. Interests and Religions are strangely conjoined and interwoven by almost inextricable intanglements: and as mens interest leads them, they are zealous for this or that way or profession, not indeed that it is Religion it self, which at the bottom they are concern'd for, but their interest being complicate therewith, they cannot pursue the one, and omit the other, and therefore they intitle

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their zeal & noise to the more commendable object, Religion. Now how great need there is, and what vast and importunate pains it will require to work these people to a sense of God and spiritual goods, to bring them to prefer Faith and good Conscience, before their *Nets* and their *Drags*, before their gain or craft, cannot easily be estimated: certainly a more effectual means than Preaching will not be found.

Lastly, as to the indifferent multitude, who are alwayes of the Religion of the State, that these are not to be neglected, forasmuch as God has undoubtedly many people amongst them, which first or last may be brought in, and that there is no way of effecting this, so likely as Preaching, because this being in fashion, this they will frequent, who sees not? Whatsoever some (who mind onely the outer part, & are content with the fair face of a good profession & a civil honest life, as being Religion enough for the people) may according to the measure they have taken conceive, there is certainly as much need to convert men at present to hear:

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ty seriousness in Christianity, to the intire belief and love of God, as there was at first to bring the World to the open owning, or admitting the Christian profession. And what means can be imagined, so likely to succeed as frequent and earnest Sermons, calculated for the purpose? It is to be considered, the ages have strangely altered, mens way of living is clear another thing, since the Apostles went about and taught from House to House. If we come now on such an Errand, we shall not find men on Week dayes at home, or not at leisure: or if we do, they shall quarrel with us for thinking they are so bad as to need particular dealing with them, who yet would endure us patiently an hour or two on the Lords Day in publick. They will tell us they are as sincere as their Neighbours, and need not to be singled out, as Christians of a worse allay: but when they are in the multitude, they will take quietly those reprehensions and aggravatives of their temper, which alone by themselves they would storm at.

These Considerations, I do profess, See. 13.

and some others which I could add, and would did I not judge enough already said on this subject, do move me to plead, that on us who are called as above, there lies at present a Necessity that we preach, and that as I have said, we preach as often, as through our own abilities we *can*, and with regard to the other parts of our Duty, and the Laws of the Church, we *may*. Divine Commands and Precedents, the publick Opinion and Expectation of the people, the States and Needs of all sorts of men amongst us, require it at our hands: nor do I doubt, whatever some malevolous spirits, who must alwayes have something to say against the Clergy, whether true or false, are apt to whisper, touching the laziness of the Priests, as they in scorn style us, if account were taken, it would be found, that the generality of us are ready to declare the practice of what has been pressed, matter both of our Judgment and Resolution: we are thus perswaded, and we will thus do; and we doubt not, but God will own us in so doing. But if there are any amongst us, who are
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I. Chap. III. Duty of Preaching. 755

apt to profess themselves of a judgment different herein, I beseech them not to be too free to do, till they shall have seriously weighed the grand inconveniences which must in all probability ensue upon such rarity of Preaching, as they seem to patronise, which is the main point now remaining of my Proposals in the beginning.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Mischiefs consequent upon supposal Preaching should grow scarcer.

Sect. 1. *The last Head. Supposed, that Preaching is more frequent amongst us, than in our immediate Fore-fathers dayes.* Sect. 2: *The Reasons, and Benefits thereof.* Sect. 3. *How far it may be suspected Preaching may grow more scarce, or in diverse places very much fail.* Sect. 4. *A Proposal of two general Heads of Woes consequent.* Sect. 5. *Strict Observation of the Lords-day keeps up the Face*

and Aw of Religion amongst our people, and Two Sermons on the Lords-day, keep up that strict Observation. Sect. 6. Afternoon-sermons on that Day no Novelty, or piece of Puritanism. Sect. 7. It were requisite, that in all great Towns or larger Parishes, there were a Sermon each Holy day. How it may easily be done. Sect. 8. The particular mischiefs consequent upon more scarcity of Preaching. The first. Sect. 9. The second and third, Sect. 10. The fourth, Sect. 11. The misery of the Clergy in such case. Sect. 12. The Conclusion, reflecting on the whole, addrest both to Preachers and People.

Sect. 1. **W**E are now, as our Last engagement, to view the Miseries which would ensue, or which we have all reason to expect, upon supposal Preaching should grow into more disuse, or in many places for the main be left off.

I take it for granted, that we have at present, all over the Land, much frequenter Sermons, than there were
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Chap. IV. Duty of Preaching. 757

in the memory of our immediate forefathers, and perhaps in the memory of some now living. If it should any where be otherwise, as the offence is great, *so Wo be to them by whom such offences come.* The Canons indeed of 1603, doinjoin all Beneficed Preachers resident upon their Livings to preach one Sermon (we will suppose, *At least*) every Sunday in the year; and beneficed men not resident, to maintain a *licensed Preacher* on their Benefice, if the worth thereof will bear it: but with all they suppose, that there were then in being, partly by reason of want of sufficient maintenance, and perhaps through other mischiefs, *beneficed men not preachers*, whom they oblige to read the *Homilies*; and they provide that the Sacraments shall not be refused from their hands. That it was better, in such the penury of the Church, to make such mean provision of Reading Ministers, as they called them, than to suffer several Countrey-parishes, in large tracts, to be without any publick Prayers, Reading of the Scriptures, Sacraments, or any such open Christianity some years

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46 57.

years together (as frequent instances may be given many flocks were , while our Church was oppressed) all the world will grant. That the Church would have made better provision , if she could , or would the Revenues of those Cures have born it , none that is not highly uncharitable can doubt, and the very words of the Canons in several places insinuate. That the Homilies are ten thousand times better than many Sermons , both in the late, and even in the present times , he must much forfeit his judgment who shall deny (though perhaps some could wish, that they being penned at such a distance of time, and when Divines were neither so clear in many necessary points of controversy, nor in the method of teaching as now they are, were revised, and accommodated more, not onely to the language of the age , but to the more approved and methodical way of preaching; and that also more were added thereto , as seems to have been the design of the Church.) But however these supplies of the want of Preaching were wholesome, and such , which while
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Chap. V. Duty of Preaching. 759

the people had, they could be under no *famine of the Word*, yet did they not suit with the humour of the multitude: they being most of them able to read themselves, judged themselves, in a manner, as able as such Teachers, which onely read to them other mens Works; and so ran after Preachers whereever they could find them, and whatever they were. And which was the worst of all, notwithstanding those injunctions in the Canons in expresse terms, touching weekly Sermons, it is too sure, that in the times alledged, there was not such observance of those Canons as there ought to have been. In some hundreds of private Countrey-parishes, they had not four Sermons a year: But now for the main, in all Parish-Churches, we have generally at least one Sermon each Lords Day, and in the larger Parishes two; besides others occasionally on solemn Festivals, or the like dayes: which is more than those Lawes prescribed, and yet we have seen they prescribed more than was practised.

The Reasons or means introductive s. 8. 2.

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of this so great change I take to be, the prejudice (many times very unreasonable) and contempt, which lay against Not preaching (or meerly Reading) Ministers, much promoted by all those who were enemies to our Church; this being an excellent popular subject, and which would admirably palliate their imputations of *idleness* and *insufficiency* to the *Clergy*. These imputations, however with the greatest injustice charged upon some, yet too reasonably, for ought I know, on others, those, whom the Tumults and the Schism had engaged, prosecuting to the highest, together with another device which they made use of, where the forementioned ones would not serve, called Malignancy, violently voided a multitude of Benefices (those especially which were the fattest) and into all of them, which were either thus forced, or otherwise became void, none being preferr'd but pretended able and zealous Preachers, at least gifted men (who let them take what Text they would, were never out in their Sermon) preaching now swarmed: and this

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this practice having prevailed a while, till more Gifted Brethren were bred, & came to set up for themselves, we had more Preachers (such as they were) than Churches, & in many places, almost as many Sermons as dayes. In this state of things, those few of the honest regular Clergy, that made a shift (though not without a great deal of persecution) to keep their Livings, observing the weapons used against them, doubled their diligence, and would not be out-preached by their adversaries, but were as frequently in the Pulpit on the Lords Day, and all due seasons, as any of them, and to much better purpose; they sowed *wheat*, while the others onely threw abroad *tares*. This also gave occasion to all the serious and pregnant Students in the Universities, who designed the Ministry, to bend their Divinity-studies towards preaching especially, which they saw now was to be much their frequenter Work, than it had been formerly their predecessors: And afterwards, when by degrees the whimsies of the age begun to evaporate, those lately so famed Gifts, being grown

common, were not so highly valued as at first, but men of learning & education came again here & there to have place & get into the Church, by which means the number of truly able and learned preachers increased much; nor was their industry and assiduity, in every part of their Function, inferiour to any mens. Thus silently went on our Churches cause, and we had, almost unperceived by our Adversaries, a numerous stock of excellent Preachers as frequently in the Pulpit as any. And at last, when upon the Restauration many places became void, by some mens refusing the regular Conditions, upon which they might hold them, the Fathers of the Church being most intimately sensible of the state of things, and of what influence Preaching was, preferred few or none (for I account not those, who were onely restored, preferr'd) to any eminent Cures, who were not ready Preachers, and careful enough to provide, that no advantage should be taken against the Church, for want of Sermons. On these occasions, and by these steps and methods, I conceive the

Chap. IV. Duty of Preaching. 763

the present frequency of Preaching to have so much prevailed of late years amongst us.

Now as to the benefit hereof, it has been and is, greater than perhaps I am able to give account of. Amongst *the people*, it cannot be denied, but *Religious knowledge* is much encreased; and we both may, and must in charity, conclude that *serious Religion*, and the love of God and Heavenly things, have thereby taken root more largely in the hearts of multitudes. Besides, our *Clergy* consisting in a manner wholly of Preachers, are much better able, on all occasions, to *maintain discourse* in some commendable sort with *gainsayers* of all parties, & vindicate the Truth, the Church and Themselves from the contempt and unjust censures they meet with, than formerly many of them were: and they are further put upon a kind of necessity of daily *improving* their abilities, with which I cannot conceive, but their *zeal* and resolution for Godliness must also grow: For though a man may read over an Homily, without being affected therewith, yet I can-

not conceive, how any can well meditate, frame and deliver a Sermon (all which, at least as to the sense and substance thereof, he must have in his head, and retain for some time a full view and comprehension of) without concernment. I cannot therefore by any means consent to those men, who think frequency of Preaching (though Sermons should be supposed for the general, but somewhat mean and indifferent) a thing that might well enough be spared, or a superfluous innovation of dangerous consequence. The very *failure* of these *advantages* would be a weighty and *considerable evil*, were there no other that would ensue upon scarcity thereof.

Secl. 3. But will some say, to what purpose any discourse of such *inconveniencies* or evils? What *suspicion* can there be of *scarcity* of preaching, when we have more preachers than we can provide for?

By way of answer hereto, I grant indeed, such a scarcity of it, as was before the *Reformation*, or immediately upon it, I am perswaded neither we
nor

Chap.IV. Duty of Preaching. 765

nor our Children shall ever see; nor, I hope, ever be able for the main to discern it to be less frequent than it is. But I observe, that there are *no Canons* in being, expressly requiring Ministers to preach so often as most of them do; and even those very Canons abovementioned annex *no penalties* enforcing their injunctions: so that all, that any can incur for the neglect of them, is perhaps a reprehension from the Bishop; and what variety of checques there lies upon the Bishops power, how difficult it is for them (at least how chargeable) even where they see reason to keep a troublesome Incumbent long suspended, much lets to deprive him, when he really deserves it, I am not unsensible. Sure I am, whatever some men in their ignorance, or through misinformation say, many things there are or may be, which can never be redrest when occasion shall requires, till the Bishops have more power, and less controule, from the Common Law. Besides, in several hundreds of Countrey parishes, how long may the Minister (if, which God forbid, he should be faulty)

ty) neglect the Canons, before it shall come to the Bishops ear, before he shall meet with a Church-warden that dare present him, &c. I cannot also but be sensible, that amongst several thousands of men, some may be impotent through age, sickness or other accidents, and unwilling to pay a Substitute; and others may be downright in love with ease, averse from study, more intent on the injoyment of their Revenues, than on the discharge of their Duty. We know not also what Epidemical evils, by us haply not foreseen, but yet most justly deserved, may be by God judicially inflicted on us, pestilence, desolation, or the like: What may be the unhappy consequences of these, and so how far destitute any places may be of preaching, none can define.

I would not have my discourse so understood, as if I did *ominate*, or so much as suspect any such event: I again say, I both trust and pray, no such thing may ever come to pass. I desire onely & design, on one hand, to perswade our people more to prize their mercies, and

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and better improve them; and on the other, to quicken in men of our *Function* that inward sense, which I presume them to have, of what weighty moment their diligence in preaching is, that none may ever be found negligent therein.

To come then closer to the main point: However slighty opinion some Sect. 4. may have of preaching, who are cloi'd with abundance, and will long admire nothing but what is rare, the change would soon appear dismal, were *Teachers removed into corners*, or those living Oracles by any other means withdrawn. It must needs be acknowledged, our *people* have been so bred and used to preaching, that upon the scarcity or failure thereof, their souls would really languish, and spiritually decay, if not be soon perverted. But none can easily imagin any such *plague* could befall the *people*, without the *guilt* of the *Clergy* except we should all be fatally taken off, which is a presumption I see not how any can make: No juncture of affairs can I suppose, which would justify our holding our peace, or declining this part of our *Office*;
E e e e e fice;

762 Of the Office and Chap. IV.

Isai: 21.
6. fice ; no *time* so *Evil* , wherein , in this kind , we may *keep silence*. We are *set as Watchmen* , and we must *declare* what we see. *St. Paul's Wo* will reach us else in our measure. But these are yet generals : we will consider particularly the *Woes* , which , in all probability , would attend both the *people* and the *Pastours* respectively, upon supposal preaching should become neglected, or much scarcer than it is ; and we will begin with the *peoples* share.

S:ct. 5. I lay here for a foundation , that That which keeps the face of Religion more bright and glorious in our *English* Church , than perhaps in any other , is very much our *stricter observation of the Lords Day* , and our *frequenter preaching* thereon , than possibly is usual in *Forreign Churches*. We come not from the Church on *Sundayer* (and haply from the *Communion* too) to the *Market* , nor buy there our dinners , and go then to eat them in the next *Tavern* we can get them drest in. At least on this *Day* (generally) we keep home , and see (most of us) that our *Families* , do so too. And , as from Church we

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we go gravely home to our private and modest necessary refreshments, so, after them, soberly to Church again. I know indeed there are some, no great friends to this practice, and think such Observation *Judaism*, or *Puritanism*, or of some such stamp. I crave leave to distinguish betwixt a *Jewish Sabbath*, and a *Christian Feast*, such as the Lords Day is: If by the Laws of the Christian Church, a Day be dedicated to the Lord, let him have it: Let us cease thereon from *doing our own works*, and *finding our own sensual pleasures*. Christian Feasting lies not in sports and sensual mirth. *He that keepeth a day, let him keep it to the Lord*, and not take what the Laws of the Christian Church from the beginning have *hallowed*, and *give it to dogs*. It would be too far out of my way to vindicate the Holy observation of the Lords Day; onely because the *giving all of it*, which may be spared from bodily necessities and modest or civil conveniencies, unto God, is by some look't upon as a Novelty, give me leave to set down one passage of *S. Chrysostom's*, & another of *St. Augustin's* speaking

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their

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their sense in this case. *ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς*

Homil: 5. in Math *ἀναγινώσκοντες, &c.* " Let us, saith the first, set
" this law unto our selves as inviolable,

" nor to our selves onely, but to our

Vid. " wives and children, to spend this

Plura " one Day of the Week, on which we

ibid. " assemble to hear the Word of God,

et in " wholly in the Meditation of

Homil. " those things which are said. He

de Elec- argues the reasonableness hereof from

mosyn: such practices as these: If men,

in Sanctos who go into a Bath, abstain that

Tom. 4. day from several meetings and affairs,

least they shou'd lose the Benefit of the

Bath, how much more on this Day

ought we to forbear common matters,

lest we blast thereby all the good which

may be gained by our attendance on

Spirituals? And St. Austin in the con-

clusion of a Sermon of his on a certain

Lords Day, has this Exhortation.

Tra- Nos autem Fratres, quoniam pascha sum-

ctat. mus epulis salutaribus, quæ resstant aga-

7. in mus, ut Diem Dominicam solenniter im-

Johau. pleamus gaudiis spiritualibus. " Now

" Brethren, seeing we have been fed

' with this saving Food, let us pro-

ceed to what duties remain, that we

may

V. Chap. III. Duty of Preaching. 771

may solemnly fill up the Lords-day with spiritual joyes. I will here add no more, because I shall presently have occasion to produce other passages, the consequents of which will reach this point. At present, that which I am concern'd for is this, that this Observation of the Lords Day mainly keeps up the reverence, awe, and spiritual Grandeur of Religion amongst us; and the reason I give for it is, that I can assign nothing, which we have, that is not common to us with our Neighbours, or in which, perhaps, we are not outdone by them, whereto I can ascribe this effect, that the generality of our people, of all ages, sexes and conditions, are more religiously given, and seem to have a greater sense of Religion, than is said other Nations have, save our more religious keeping of this day. Have we the Scriptures? so have they. Have we prayers in our Mother-tongue? So have all the Reformed Churches. Have we Ecclesiastical Discipline? Those Churches in their way are as strict, or stricter than our selves. Is there something of outward decency, beauty and

glory in our publick Worship? As to state, how far are we outdone by the Papists! I must therefore attribute this effect to no other Cause. Now I say further, 'Tis our Sermons that keep up the observation of the Lords-day. We can get people to Church twice on the day, and keep them there too, and have full Congregations, if we so often preach diligently to them: we should not, did we do otherwise. Some will be on *Afternoons* in the *Ale-house* or *Taverns*, others at publick *games* and *sports*, others otherwise imploied, or not imploied, if we be not in the *Pulpit*: not one in twenty, who now come duly to Church, would then be there.

Sect. 6. But I am not ignorant, that this practice of the *Afternoon Sermons* on the Lords-day, lies under no good repute with some men, who pretend to be great friends, and sons too, of our Church. The best name they can give it is, a *Novelty*, introduced by *English puritan Overdoo's*. I heartily grieve, if indignation will suffer me, when I hear such language, especially from men
that

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that call themselves *Protestants*, and pretend not onely *Devotion* and *Religion* to be dear to them, but that they have searched *Antiquity*, and find no footsteps of this use there, nor any place for the Afternoon-Sermon in any Antient, or even in our Present Liturgies. I will endeavour with all temper, and I promise with the greatest sincerity, to wipe off the Aspersions in a few words,

I must acknowledge, in the first setting out of Christianity, we are not able to observe this practice; for they assembled for Divine Worship every day, and communicated too: nor can we think, their Communion was without Exhortations, as well as Prayers; they preached then possibly every day. And when their more solemn Assemblies came to be fixt, as soon they were, chiefly on the Lords-day (*Acts XX, 7.*) it would seem they continued from the time of their meeting, till the Evening, or sometimes (according as they met) till the Break of day, or other occasion, dissolved them, no one going home to eat, and then

returning to the Assembly; for that all generally brought somewhat with them, and a common Table or Meal was an appendance of the Lords Supper. Onely I observe St. *Chrysostome* out of the Records of these dayes, urging St. *Paul's* injunction to *Timothy* (the Fathers words I shall set down presently more at large.) *Be instant in season and out of season, &c.* and his practice in *continuing his speech untill midnight*, in the place of the *Acts* last mentioned, for the justifying his own preaching in the *Afternoon* also. But when the times of persecution were well blown over, and the Church enjoyed settlement and leisure, in the Homilies of diverse of the antient Fathers, we have plentiful testimonies that they preached in the Afternoons, as well as in the Mornings. *Gaudentius* Bishop of *Brescia* in the Archbishoprick of *Milan*, about the year 390, mentions his preaching *Twice* on *Easter-Eve* touching the Pass-over. But that it was much more usual for them to preach twice on the Lords-day, is evident from St. *Austin* in sundry places. For
in.

Homil.
X in
Genes.
sub init.

Tra -
Stat. 4.
de
Pasch:
Biblioth
patr.
Tom:2.

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instance ; The place last produced out of him may very reasonably be interpreted to intimate thus much : But in other places we may find him most express. Preaching on a certain day *twice* on the *LXXXVIII.* Psalm, he concludes his Morning-sermon thus. *Quod restat si placet servemus , quia longus est Psalmus , &c.* “ Let us for the present re-
 “ serve the rest , if it please you ; for
 “ that the Psalm is somewhat long, and
 “ I am yet to speak again to you in the
 “ name of Christ. Refresh your
 “ strength , I do not say , the strength
 “ of your minds , for I see in mind you
 “ are indefatigable ; but as to the ser-
 “ vants of your mind , that your bo-
 “ dies may be able to indure in their at-
 “ tendance. Refresh your selves , I
 “ say , and being refreshed , return after
 “ Dinner. And again in his next Sermon
 he begins thus. *Ad reliqua Psalmi , de
 quo in Matutino locuti sumus , animum
 attendite.* “ Be pleased to attend now
 “ to the Remains of the Psalm , of
 “ which we spoke in the Morning. In
 his last *Tome* also , amongst the *Sermo-
 nes de Tempore* , we shall find very ma-
 F f f f f ny

ny of them, which were for the same Lords-day, to be onely contiuations one of the other, which at a years distance would have been very strange; wherefore those Sermons not being all St. *Austin's*, as we have already said, it is apparent, this was not onely his practice, but the practice of diverse others of the Preaching *Latine* Fathers, &^d thing then usuall.

Asto the *Greek* Fathers, I will onely speak the practice of the greatest Preacher of them, St. *Chrysostome*. His tenth Homily on *Genesis* has this title: Περὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς μετὰ τὴν ἑσπέρην, &c. "An Exhortation to those who were
 "ashamed to come to the Sermon after
 "Dinner, or after Meal, &c. It seems by this and diverse other Homilies of his, many of his people made a considerable scruple, whether it were lawful to come to Church, not *fasting*, and by this meanes it came to pass, *Ἐλάττωται ἡ μὲν ἐκκλησία* he had a lesser Congregation, and a thinner Audienoe, in the Afternoon, than in the Forenoon. Now the design of the former part of this Sermon is, to remove from them
 this

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this scruple , and to this purpose he shews them the consistency of *Foodly and Spiritual Food* , and “ That all times “ of the day are seasonable enough for “ spiritual instruction. What do I say (saith he) “ All times of the day ? “ No , not the coming on of the night “ makes this unseasonable : and then he urges the passages of *St. Paul* before mentioned, adding Ο ἰσχυρὸς ἀκροατὴς καὶ ἰερευσεύς &c. “ An attentive or sober auditour , “ though he has dined , is fit for spiri- “ tual Doctrine. In his first Homily *De Lazaro mendico* , he prosecutes the same subject again , but with more earnestness , inveighing against them who condemned his useage of preaching after Dinner, ^{ὡς καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ἀνεκδιέξοις συνήθεια} as a *new and uncouth custome* , and tells them he has much more reason to condemn *that wicked custome which had then prevailed , that they rose from table to sleep*. So that it seems, this Father rather looked upon it as a wicked Custome , not to preach in the Afternoon ; & by his saying , this wicked Custome *had then with some prevailed* , he intimates it had been otherwise formerly. In the same Ho-

mily, he justifies his practice from Christs Preaching to the multitude, after his having fed them miraculously with the *loaves*. "Our Lord, saith he, "did not fill their bellies to excess and "gluttony, but when he had satisfied "them as far as necessity required, he "led them to spiritual food. So, saith he, "let us do, and accustome our "selves thus to take our meat. Elsewhere he again defends this his practice from our Lords long Sermon to his Disciples after his last Supper: and adds, "that where people use to come to the "Afternoon-sermon, it will make them "feed soberly, whether they will or no. In his next Homily, he highly commends the people for coming to Church on the Afternoon in a full audience. And to conclude what I shall say out of this great Father, in his 28th. Homily *ad pop. Antiochen*. He appeals to his Auditours themselves "in which "of these two they conceived they "did better? when, the Morning-sermon "being over, they went from the Church "to their Table, & thence rose to sleep, "or when after Dinner, they came again "to

Ad

pop:

Anti-

och:

Homil.

9.

Homil:

10.

“to hear the Divine Oracles? &c.
Now that hereby he meant Sermons,
is plain, because all these are passages
out of Afternoon-sermons preached by
him. Upon the whole then it is evi-
dent, that it was the practice of the
Primitive Church, to spend the Lords-
Day wholly, as far as was consistent
with necessities and honest conveni-
encies, in Holy Exercises; and particu-
larly, that at least in Cities and greater
Churches, it was usual that the Pa-
stours thereof preached on that Day,
Forenoon and Afternoon.

I have already said, that as the *Po-
pish Mass*, and other appendant corru-
ptions prevailed in the Church, *Prea-
ching* grew much out of date. What was
the effect hereof, I need produce no o-
ther witnesses but the *Romish* Writers
themselves. To omit the black Cha-
racters of Ignorance and Wickedness,
which both *Bellarmin* & *Baronius* give of
the Tenth Age after Christ, & the times
thereabout, when there was little or no
Preaching in most places, of the *Western*
Church at least, I will onely set down
a story which *Matthew of Paris* reports

De.
Rom.
Pont.
l.4.c.12
A.11.
To
10.
11.
12.
13.
18.

M. P.
Hist:
ad ann.
1072.

about the year 1072, of a Ghost which appeared to his friend & shewed written in his "hand Letters, as sent from "Hell, in which Satan and all his Crew, "gavetheir humble service and thanks "to the whole Ecclesiastical Order, "that as in nothing they were wanting "to their own pleasures, so [*Tantum* "*numerus subditarum sibi animarum suæ* "*prædicationis incuria paterentur ad in-* "*fernum descendere, quantum secula an-* "*teacta nunquam viderint.*] they suffe- "red so great a number of souls to fall "headlong to Hell, through their ne- "glect of Preaching, as no former ages "had ever sent thither.

When afterward, in some process of time, it pleased God to raise up Preachers, knowledge soon increased, and in a few Ages, the Reformation gradually came on, which indeed no one thing more promoted than frequent preaching. He, who mainly broke the ice, the undaunted *Martin Luther*, was a constant Preacher, and very far from thinking Afternoon-Sermons either Novel or unnecessary. Hear him deliberating declaring his thoughts in this case

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case to *Nicolas Hausman* a German Bishop, & a friend to the Reformation.

Instituendæ sunt Lectiones quotidianæ, altera mane in Novo vel Veteri Testamento, altera Vesperis in altero Testamento, cum explanatione vernacula. Hunc ritum esse antiquum probat & res & vocabulum.

“We must set up, saith he, Daily Lectures, one in the Morning out of the Old or New Testament, another in the Evening out of the other Testament, with an Exposition thereon in our Mother-tongue. That this usage is *Antient*, both the thing it self and the name declare. Such indeed was, as we have seen, the Antient Fathers great way of Preaching, an Explication on the Scriptures that day read, and such was *Luther's* generally. And according to these his advices, was his own practice, as is apparent by his Sermons extant, many of which are expressly inscribed (*ante Prandium*) made Before noon, others on the same day (*A Prandio*) Afternoon.

These Authorities both of the Antient Fathers, and of this great Reformer, may suffice to convince the world, that

In Præf.
adform.
Miss.
pro.
Ecc.
Wit:
tenb.
Tom:2.

Luth:
Con-
cion.
Dieb:
Doming
&
Festis.

782 Of the Office and Chap. IV.
that Preaching Forenoon and Afternoon
is a practice much elder than the *English*
Puritans.

Now as to that demand, Where
shall we find a place in any *Liturgies* for
the *Afternoon-Sermon* to come in? I an-
swer, Where did these *Fathers* find it?
It is sure they preached publicly in the
Afternoon-Assemblies. But suppose it
had no place at all in the body of any Li-
turgies, suppose it immediately succee-
ded the Evening-Office, as commonly it
does in our present use, where is the
inconvenience or *irregularity*? It is
not at all repugnant unto our Act
of *Uniformity*. But if any will have a
place for it in the Liturgy, why may it
not properly enough come in after the
second Lesson? The Custom we have
seen of old was, to handle some part of
what had been read; and when more
naturally, than immediately after the
reading or Lessons? Our Church pre-
scribes that to be the season for Cate-
chising Youth: We will suppose, due
Catechising is not a bare hearing Chil-
dren repeat the words of the Cate-
chism, but explaining, asserting and
ap

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applying the Doctrine thereof in a plain and familiar manner. Suppose our Afternoon-Sermons in our Parish-Churches such (as is most fit they should be) and do we not find a proper room for them in our present Liturgy? Such handling any Catechetical point, whether matter of Faith or Practice, may be done with the same facility in the Pulpit, as in the Desk, and with a Text prefixt (as the manner of our Sermons in the present Age is) as well as without one; and then who will not call it a Sermon? I will therefore now conclude Afternoon-Sermons not onely *Antient*, but as they may be managed, strictly enough *Regular* according to the Order of our present Church.

Besides such frequent Sermons on the Sect. 7.
Lords Day, it is apparent to any one who reads the *Antient Fathers*, that there was seldome or never any Holy-day past without a Sermon, as neither does there any usually at present amongst us in our Cathedral or Collegiate Churches, or even in our Universities. And as for *Luther's* part, we shall find him preaching Twice on sundry Holy-days.

Vid:
Con.
in dic.

Cir-
cumci-
sion.
Christ.
& in
Epi-
phan.
&c.

I do not at all press that, because it does not seem so fully to comport with a certain oblique design of our Festivals, the honest recreation of several sorts of people thereon. But the irregularity of one Sermon every Festival, none can assert; except haply they should say, such Parochial Minister, who does it in his Parish Church, would be singular; which I could easily answer by saying, I am sorry for it. The second Service, which we know is as particularly prescribed for all Holy-days, as for all Sundayes, in the year, in the Rubrick after the *Nicene Creed* supposes the intervention of a *Sermon*, or one of the *Homilies already set forth*, or to be set forth by Authority.

The difficulty of reading *Homilies* would be none at all: and if any think there are too few, they ought first to use these, till they are become familiar or trite (which I am sure now they are not to our people) before they complain of the want of new ones. For my own part, I could most gladly hear a *Partition* out of *The whole Duty of man*, distinctly read on Holy-days in our Pa-
rish.

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rish Churches, were it recommended by Authority; & it would favour of more ingenuity than some mens clancular borrowing others Sermons. That incomparable book entreating in each partition usually of some Christian Virtue (& the Saints being exemplary in all virtues) it, would not be unfit intertainment for the people on Saints daies; and I doubt not but the benefit thereof in Publick would be no lesse to the generality, than thousands, not onely persons but families, have found it in private.

The Difficulty of provideing *Sermons* so often would indeed be considerable, but it might easily be alleviated, in Great-townes by a *Combination* or *Rota* of the Neighbouring Clergy, each takeing his turn in course, as it is amongst the *Masters* in our Universities. Nor does this seem to me at all a Violation of the *LXXIIId* Canon, for here is supposed no new solemnity appointed, onely the law is observed: and as to such *Combinations* as suggested, how easily may the Approbation of the Diocesan be had thereto? Further, it is not to be forgotten that there are weekly Lectures

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settled in several Market-towns,, which might be well adjourned to the Holy day that falls in the week.

Now as to the benefit, in all probability it would be very great: Besides the usuall advantages of Sermons generally, this would conciliate some more regard to *Festivalls*, and bring people to the Church thereon: this might also be improved to *instruct* them in the *particular designs* of our *Festivalls* respectively, the observation whereof they have many of them now little kindnesse for, because they understand not the reason of: This would also be a ground of *familiarity* and *frequent converse* between the *Clergy*, so that they would be mutually better by one anothers excellencies: This lastly would stop the mouth of some, who admired much the *diligence* and *Gifts* of their *Lecturers*. I am not ignorant, that such Associations may be abused, or by unquiet spirits turned to evill purposes; but so may any thing, and such spirits will find waies, to hatch and communicate their mischiefe, more private & so more dangerous than this would be; where-
in

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in, supposeing there be one or two sober grave, peaceable, prudent men in the Combination (as there will, or may, be certainly more) no matter of suspicious or evill consequence can be going on, but it will be checkt, repress't, or else discovered to those whom it concerns to know it. But I beg pardon for this digression, which yet is not much from my main design of defending and promoteing the *Regular Frequency of Preaching*.

To return then: I conceive it apparent Sec. 8. by what has been above said, that our stricter observation of the Lords day is the main thing which amongst the multitude keps up the face of Religion (that is a fair, serious, awfull profession of it) and the Afternoon=Sermons I say maintaine such the observation of the Lords day. Now of how fatall consequence it would be to Religion it self, and the *Reall Power of Godliness*, to have this its outward face *Eclipt*, may hence be estimated, that this is the great meanes which first ingenerates hearty Religion in us all. I do not deny but there are some dormant

principles of Religion in natural reason, but these require to be excited and formed by Tradition; and the more solemn and serious we see the generality of men to be in the profession of that Faith, which they deliver to us, the more authority such Tradition has. Thus in plain terms stands the case; While we are children, and yet ignorant what Religion meanes, we are carried to the places of publick worship to prayers and Sermons as to things of an Holy, awfull, tremendous nature, and of the greatest concernment: And the oftener we see people at these sacred publick offices, and the more serious we apprehend them therein, the more affected we, while little, are therewith: And hereby we are prepared with more reverence to regard those small notices of the Christian doctrine, which we are then able to take in. Afterwards, as by degrees our knowledge and reall conviction of conscience encreases, so we come to a true inward sense of Religion, and thereby, to the hearty practice of it: So that it is evident, destroy this the Outward

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aw and Face of Religion, and you proportionably destroy the main *Introductive principle* of the real beliefe of Religion. And I have said, as preaching does decay this will decay. This is the First particular evill, that would ensue upon the supposal put; and I may say, there needs no more.

But from hence would follow, a very publick if not generall falling off of our people, both from our Church and from Religion it self. If *Preachers* should fail, *Seducers* would not: there are whole shoales of them ready to be thrown in upon us on a sudden, besides that we are overstockt on both hands already. Sect. 9.

First, multitudes would soon be drawn off by the *Fascinations* of the *Romish Charmers*. Take away our preaching and the best shew carries it. *Ad Populum Phaleras*. And if it once come to outward Pomp, as already said, they cut doe us a thousand: Their rich Altars, their glittering Vestments, their pretty Images, their precious Reliques, their pompous Processions, the Mortified lookes of many of their Monasticks, with their whole State, that I call it not

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Pageantry of Religion, will soon inveigle the multitude, which as I have above complained are too much in different to all Religions, onely one they must have.

Secondly, there are another sort of Enemies to our Church on the other hand: We have had too sad experience that *Sedition* and *Rebellion* are as the sin of *Witchcraft* in another sense than we ordinarily interpret that speech: they most unreasonably and unaccountably charm and fascinate the multitude; and there are not a few men of the old Blade, of a kind of odd Church Militant, who would be sure to set up for preachers, and draw away all those after them, who out of passion & not out of Reason are zealous against Popery.

I may safely say, under God, next to our Lawes (for which God be blessed) and our King who maintains the Laws (and whom God long preserve to us) there is nothing hinders more the prevalency of these two Extremes, from swallowing up in a manner our Church, than does our frequent Preaching. This
now

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now *lettelb* and *willlett*, and I hope will never be *taken out of the way*.

Lastly, that there is a great deal of Atheism not onely secretly lodged in mens hearts, but overflowing in the mouths of many, is a sore, but just complaint. We shall frequently meet with persons, who will plainly speak it out, that Religion is onely a Politicall Intrigue, which cunning men devised, and fooles believe, and who will argue proportionably against the very principles of faith: and this not onely *en passant*, for proof and ostentation of their wits some times, and to run down people, whom they judge so weak as to be concerned heartily for Religion, but designedly and with seriousness in other companies, to make profelytes. And such discourses are too much *in mode* at present, more countenanced than they ought to be, or, which is much the same, started and promoted by some sort of men for their diversion, and the entertainment of their company. Now there is nothing, which gives a greater check to this growing evill, which really more counter-works these irreligious machinations, than our

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frequent preaching does. We should soon see what a dreadfull progresse Atheism would make, if while its Patrons preach at every table, where they may be bold, or as they call it *pleasant*, our Ministers held their tongue in the Pulpit, or came not so often thither.

Some haply may say to confront this suggestion, Every man is not qualified for an Atheist, that is, has not leisure, estate, authority, impudence enough (for little wit or education God knows will suffice) to set up or undertake the patronage of Irreligion. Be it so; but too many have, and many more ventre at it: So that I may safely say, were the doctrines or principles of Atheism sufferd to go without those publick contradictions and confutations which still, as occasion serves and our discourses lead us, they receive from the pulpit, the as yet uninfected part of our people, would soon be drawn in, and the most profane Impiety insensibly get an uncontroleable head.

It may be said perhaps, Popery would hinder this, as well as Protestants preaching; Let but any Religion be in
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fashion, and Atheism can never prevail. I answer, Popery is indeed a very fashionable, I mean, outwardly a very splendid, specious and formal Religion: but how has it hindered the growth of Atheism in Italy the very centre of Popery? What do we mean by the usual proverb, the *Italian Religion*?

To conclude then this head: These four grand Evils, A greater Decay of the outward face & awe of Religion, A Falling off of our people on the one hand to *Papist* superstition on the other to *seditions on vertues, giddiness, confusion & every evil Work*, & lastly, of a multitude to downright *Atheism*, would suddenly & certainly ensue, should frequent Preaching fail.

As to the Miseries, which would be Sect. II
fall the Clergy, should they neglect this part of their office, & this their neglect be the cause of general want of preaching; First, I cannot be so uncharitable to my brethren, as to think this will ever come to pass, or force my self to imagine they are not deeply sensible of the Direfull consequences thence to themselves. I will not therefore be so vain as to expatiate on this head, as if I either suspected
H h h h h 2 them

them to want information, or judged
 my self able to instruct them. It must
 be presumed, we all know the *Wo* that
 attends such servants, whom our Lord
at his coming shall find *unfaithful*; *the*
bloud of those who perish *will be requi-*
red at their hands, and besides that,
 their *own bloud* will be *upon their own*
heads. But before that time, we can-
 not, in this case, but expect an earli-
 er share of *Temporal Wo* also to befall
 us. It is scarce possible, generally more
disoblige our Neighbours, than by *negle-*
cting them; and amongst all neglects,
 as there is none more publick and apter
 to be taken notice of by all sorts, than
 our Neglect of Preaching, so there is
 none ordinarily likely to move higher &
 more notorious resentment. Now the
infelicity of liveing in a parish, and ha-
 veing the charge of a flock, where a
 man is *not beloved*, is so great, that I
 do not know, whether any Temporal
 misery be not to be chosen rather than
 it: for besides the perpetual *grateing in-*
quietudes of such a life, the troubles such
 Minister shall be imbroiled in, in getting
 those small dues on which he is to
 subsist,

subſiſt, and a thouſand like perlexive incidents, he is almoſt under a neceſſity of being *unſerviceable* to the Souls of his people. Further, we have heard much of the *Contempt of the Clergy*, and many vain and frivolous cauſes thereof aſſigned : I may truly name one point, that would bring more contempt and ſcorn upon us, than perhaps all other put together, and that is, Let us be *Idle*, or which with the people is the ſame, let us be *ſilent* or remit of our conſtant Preaching. But God be thanked this is imputable to very few, and I hope never will be to many, of us.

I have thus, as in a draught, preſented the *Evils*, which would forthwith, Sec. 12 in all probability, enſue, ſuppoſeing ſuch ſcarcity of preaching as is not impoſſible, and as ſome men ſeem to patroniſe. I have alſo, with *very* great Freedom and Sincerity, aſſerted the *Authority of our Preaching*, which though it be not equal to that of the Apoſtles and of the Inſpired age, yet it is as great as the preſent ſtate of Chriſtianity will admit: Greater it cannot be, except men ſhould be again called, or ſent, by

H h h h h

im.

immediate voice from Heaven, and empowered by Miraculous inspiration : It is really such an Authority, which they have not, who pretend to that *Necessity of Preaching laid upon* them, which indeed does ly upon *Us*. *Our Office* is of *Divine institution*, and designed to be of *perpetuity*, or of the same duration with the world: The *power* of it is *regular'y conveyed* to us by those, who have had it in an *uninterrupted succession* from Christ and his Apostles; and as to our actual *Ministry*, it is not without the special *conduct* and concurrence of the *Holy Ghost*. Finally, as to the various *Modes* there have been of preaching in the World, we are not, blessed be God, much behind any of the Ordinary ages of the Church, and (if it may be spoken without offence) we are superiour to many. What I have to adde by way of conclusion, I shall addresse, with an humble but passionate concernment, to *Preachers and People*.

As to us of the *Clergy*, I doubt not but generaily we can with truth and justice profess touching our selves, before God and Men, in the words of St. *Paul*,
that

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that Seeing *We have this ministry, as we have received mercy, we faint not: But we have renounced the hidden things of dishonesty, not walking in craftiness, nor handling the word of God deceitfully, but by manifestation of the truth commending our selves to every mans conscience in the sight of God.* This then being our case, if we meet with discouragements, general or particular, let us with all prudence indeavour to remove them; and if we cannot, yet setting before our eyes the *Recompence of reward*, and *Looking unto Jesus*, who has set us on work and promised *to be with us to the end of the world*, Let us stirr up the gift of God which is within us, and

— *Contra audentius ire*, onely taken courage from our difficulties. What ever comes let us *speak and not be silent*: A better cause than ours never can be, & we are most unworthy to be ingaged in it, if we can by any meanes be prevailed with to be wanting to it. *Facta est Alea*, we have past *Rubicon*, ther's no setting a foot backward. Remember we him, who vowed, *His Soul should have no pleasure in them who draw back.*

There

I. Cor:
IV. 1, 2.

798 Of the Office and Chap. IV.

There can be no time wherein *Preaching will not be in Season or out of Season*; I might say, scarce any time, in which some Preaching or other is not *in season*: where publicke Preaching is not opportune, private may be. In all therefore let us be *Instant*, let us endeavour by the plainest prudent dealing in all waies, by the strongest and most moveing arguments we can devise, to get within the hearts and consciences of men. If frequency of Preaching be a work so exceeding laborious to any of us, let us contrive with our selves by what methods we may alleviate or facilitate it, and do what lies in our power thereunto. Particularly, let us study and use the easiest and most familiar course. He was no mean nor unsuccessful Preacher who advised *Optimi ad vulgus bi sunt concionatores, qui trivialiter, Populariter & simplicissime docent*. "Those are the best preachers to the common people who preach in a mean, vulgar and most plain way. The condescending to such a course, would much ease many mens work as to themselves, and render their labours too more serviceable

to

Luther.
apud
Melch:
Adam.
in vis.

Chap. IV. Duty of Preaching. 797

to their people. Let our Arguments have life and energy in them, be such as are apt to create concernment, and it little matters how plain our Language or stile shall be: that which is most natural is certainly most usefull, and to all but Fops and Fantastickes most acceptable. There may be I confess great difference of Auditories, and it is most reasonable that accordingly we consult them; but we are to consider, there are few or no Auditories, which consist not of the Mixed multitude: he therefore that has spoken to the capacity of the meanest, has in all probability been understood, in things so spoken, by every one that heard him; and then it is hardly possible, but the generality are bettered. Truth and Godliness can scarce appear in so plain a dress, but they will ever be Venerable. The fastidious spirits, as we may hope they are far the fewest, so we are sure they are unfittest for the Kingdom of Heaven; wherefore while we consult their provision, we must not starve the *Children of the Kingdom*. I will say no more on this subject: The Lord give

us *wisdome* and *stedfast resolution*, and then our Preaching will neither be *unfruitful* to any, nor *infrequent*.

What I would beseech of such *Hearers*, to whom these Papers shall come, is also nothing but what they must acknowledge my Discourse enforces; Namely, that though they cannot come to our Sermons as to inspired prophesyings, (for we are not, we pretend not our selves to be infallible living-Oracles) yet that they would look upon the Christian Doctrine in our mouths to have more authority, than if taught by common and uncommissioned, that I say not also, as too often it comes to pass, unletter'd men. For they must allow us to be persons sent, and authorised by God in an ordinary way, to be their Teachers, and the Guides of their Consciences: and then, if God follow his own institution with his blessing, if he forget not or neglect his own promise, we must have usually more of the concurrent assistance and conduct of the Holy Ghost in what we teach, than other persons who are not alike called to the Office. In proportion hereto,

Chap. IV. Duty of Preaching. 801

to, there are three or four Particulars which I would passionately press upon our people, and that as they ever expect any good by our Ministry, and as they would not have our labours rise up in judgment to inhanche their everlasting woes. (1.) That they would alwaies come to our Sermons with serious and *single* hearts, not out of Custom, Curiosity, or design of *Censure*, Cavil or the like, but with an honest intention, and sincere desire, either to learn what they know not, or (if they conceive themselves to know enough) to be put in mind, and quickened in the sense of what they know. (2.) That they will not satisfy themselves with the meer having heard a Sermon, and account that Religion enough for one day, though they neither heeded, nor, it may be, understood five sentences of it. This has been a great Evil of late years; much heard, and nothing applied or digested. People really have looked upon themselves so much the holier, by how many more Sermons they heard, as some I say do for hearing a greater number of Mas-

ses. Let us beware of this madness, & every one take closely & meekly home to himself, what belongs to him for his good. Reflect not on others, as thus and thus concern'd in the things which are spoken, nor on the Preacher, as too busie or troublesome. In health, you will not be angry with one, who shall bring you an excellent Preservative; nor in sickness with him, who presents you a sure and safe remedy, neither would you reject either. Have but the same concernment for your souls, as you wear for your bodies, and do in this case, as you would in that. (3.) Whereas in our Sermons, we, for the most part, *shoot much at a peradventure*, and being to *hit* the general conditions of men, cannot *level* alwayes so particularly at some private concerns as is needful; and whereas it has been made evident, that the private direction of conscience was one of the Eldest kinds of Preaching, if therefore there be any thing of considerable moment, either *in our Sermons*, which our Auditours have not understood, or are not duely satisfied with,

or

Chap. IV. Duty of Preaching. 803

or *in their own conditions*, which we have not touched, let them not indulge a foolish modesty to their own injury, but in private have recourse to us for such more particu- lar advice and satisfaction, which *they* need, and we cannot give them in the Pulpit. Lastly, let me humbly crave of our people, that if in any case, their judgments and their Teachers come into competi- tion upon equal evidence of Argument on both sides (as they apprehend) they would prefer their Teachers judg- ments before their own. The reasona- bleness hereof is founded in this, that the Teacher has *authority* from God, and so may be presumed to have more of the *Divine guidance*: besides, he is *bound*, as he will answer the contrary at Gods great Tribunal, to *teach the Truth*, and nothing but it, to his best knowledge; he has *long given* himself to *search the Truth*, he *sees the dependan- ces* of one Truth on others, and so is better able to determine difficulties by the Analogy or *proportion of Faith*, than such, who perhaps *seeing but few things* comparatively, and not considering all

804 Of the Office and Chap. IV.
they see, *easily pronounce* sentence. And
as to our *sincerity*, if men will imagine
us to have any conscience, they cannot
judge us so fond of Errours, as for the
love of them, to venture together the
damnation of our own souls, and of all
those which God will require at our
hands.

Could we prevail in these few reason-
able requests, it were to be hoped, our
Preaching would have, in a manner, as
great success as we could wish: and
though we have not the advantage of In-
spiration, or Miraculous Gifts, yet our
people would not be without the ad-
vantage of a *Nobler Faith*, than most had
even in the inspired times; & particularly
they would enjoy the Blessing belonging
to those, *who having not seen, have yet
believed*. But though we should be so
unhappy as not to succeed, yet we may
not therefore slacken our Diligence:
we know not how soon the case may
change, nay, we know not how far
we have succeeded already. Sometimes
the *seed springs and grows up* no man
knows how. However, our reward
depends not upon our success, but up-
on

Chap. IV. Duty of ~~Preaching~~ Preaching. 805-
on our endeavours and fidelity: Sup-
posing these, *Though Israel be not ga-
thered, yet shall we be glorious in the eyes
of the Lord, and our God shall be our
strength.* Possibly we may some of us
think this but mean felicity to be safe
alone, but in *thus doing* we may reason-
ably hope to save both our selves, and
those that bear us. And accordingly thou

O Lord, save thy People,
And bless thy Clergy.

F I N I S.

OF H. 6. 7. 678. 13

GIFTS AND OFFICES IN THE Publick Worship of GOD.

A Treatise in Three Parts,

Endeavouring an impartial Account,
What was in the *Inspired Age* of the Church
What succeeded in the more *Ordinary State*
What reasonably may be allowed now,

In { Prayer.
Singing.
Preaching.

Designed to make People more Sober, Regular and
Serious in PUBLICK WORSHIP.

By EDWARD WETENHALL D.D.
Chanter of Christ-Church, Dublin.

D U B L I N,

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most Excellent Majesty; And are to be sold by
Mary Crock at his Majesties Printing-House in
Skinner-row. 1678.

M. D C. LXXVIII.

07-120



REVERENDISSIMIS

I N

CHRISTO
PATRIBUS,

Dominis Præsulibusque Amplissimis;

D. GUILHELMO D. MICHAELI

Archiepiscopo *Cantua-*
riensi, Totius A N-
G L I Æ Primati &
METROPOLITA-
NO, &c.

* Archiepiscopo *Dublina-*
ensi, H I B E R N I Æ
Primati, & summo
ibidem D. Cancellaria-
rio, &c.

Ecclesiarum

Situ (heu! nimio) Diversarum,

Fide Ipsissimarum,

Fulgentissimis S T E L L I S,

Præsidibus Oculatissimis, Cordatissimis, Meritissimis,

Auspicihus A N G E L I S ter maximis;

Tri-

Tripartitam hanc (qualem qualem)

De

Charismatis Officiisq; Liturgicis

Commentationem,

Non quòd par sit His vel Patronis vel Lectoribus,

Sed ut insigniori, nec opinando Ambitionis Nifu,

E Tenebris, ipsam alioqui Male Pressuris,

Feliciter Asserta,

A Tantis Nominibus Lumen hauriat & Splendorem,

Summo in *Matrem* Ecclesiam Studio & Pietate,

Summâ in Optimos *Patres* Observantiâ & Cultu,

Eâq; demum, qua scripserat Parhrhesiâ,

Ingenuâ, quantumvis Audenti,

V. D. M. Q. C.

Edvardus Wetenball.

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broke out. Its private occasional use observa-
ble*

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to Preachers and People.

ADVERTISEMENT.

INstead of further Preface or Epistle to the
Reader, the Reader is desired to peruse
the *Review* in the end of the Third Dis-
course.

OF THE GIFT OF PRAYER.

I Cor. XIV.

Προσβύζομαι τῷ Πνεύματι, προσβύζομαι δὲ ἃ τῷ νῷ.
Theodoret apud Occumenium.

Πνεῦμα, τὸ πνευματικὸν χάρισμα λέγει.

S. Chrysostom in I Cor. Homil. 35.

Καὶ γὰρ ἴσως τὸ παλαιὸν ἃ χάρισμα ἑυχῆς ἰχθυῖας ποταμῶν μετα-
γλάττειν, ἃ ἰσχυρὸς μὲν, ἃ ἡ γλῶττα ἐκδέχεται, ἃ τῷ Πνεύματι
ἃ τῷ ῥωμαίων ῥατὶ ἰσχυομένη, ἴσως ἢ ἄν ἡδὲ τὸ λογίζεσθαι.

Quidam solâ Novitate gaudent, atque ut statim Novi-
tas esse desiit, nauscant. Quo genere hominum,
cùm in rebus cæteris nihil est molestius, tum in rebus
sacris sunt molestissimi & intolerabiles: quamquam
ut rumpar irâ, ferre illos cogor, nisi velim & Evan-
gelium ipsum è medio tollere. Luther in *Prefat.*
Form. Miss. & Commun. pro Eccles. Wittenberg.

DUBLIN,
Printed Anno Dom. M. DC. LXXVIII.

OF THE
G I F T
OF
P R A Y E R.

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T is the peculiar (and we hope *sect. 1.*
the just) praise of the English
Protestant Church, given to
her by the most competent
A Judges,

ritual sense, if it be not Enthusiastical or Fantastick, a rational account is to be given. For as in the outward senses, there is no real sensation, except there be an object to move them; so in this spiritual sense, there can be no real perception of such excellency, except there really be such excellency: and that excellency if we are not able to make out rationally to our selves and others, it is imagination or humour, which we mistaking call spiritual sense. Upon a particular examination of the case as we could make, we have found prayer by Form to have all the real advantages in publick above conceived prayer. And the truth is (seeing it must be spoken out) if conceived prayer in publick be any more efficacious, or apt to move any Hearers than prayer by due Forms, it is onely by reason of Novelty; prejudice or Custome. How far those affections are to be valued that meer Novelty raises, we have already spoken. And as to the other points, it must be confessed, that many honest minds lye under a great prejudice against Forms by reason of their Education in Factious Times, and

and perhaps (in part) under Factious persons, who have instilled into them their own Opinions, and inured them to a kind of Enthusiastick Worship of God. These persons have never been used to pray affectionately in any but new and conceived prayers, and therefore they think (as before intimated) there is no praying affectionately otherwise. But would these good men honestly lay aside their prejudice, would they fairly & with understanding read and consider our Church Liturgy, would they come there to with prepared, and devout souls, would they thus make tryal of it a little, lifting up *their pure minds* to God in the use of it, they would soon find, even under it, that tenderness of heart and warmth of affection, which they have experienced in the other way, and which, without vanity or dissimulation, we profess to all the World, for the glory of God, we do find under it as often generally, as with due attention and seriousness of mind we are conversant in the use of it. They would find also, by its comprehending more universally all their wants, and the wants of the whole

Israel of God, the great advantage to be on this side; and that there is no such spiritual sense against us in this case, as is pretended. And thus I have endeavoured in all calmness, candour and sincerity, and with the greatest reason and evidence that I could use, to satisfy this question, as to the real intrinsic merit of the Cause.

CHAP. IV.

Sect. 1. *The sixth Enquiry. An account of the practice of the Catholick Church in this case.* Sect. 2. *The Original and progress of conceived prayer in publick, since the cessation of miraculous gifts.* Sect. 3. *Some respect is to be had to the Genius of each age.* Sect. 4. *An account of the temper of our people, or those who pretend to be sons of the Church of England.* Sect. 5. *What the Laws of our Church may seem to allow as to conceived prayer in any case.* Sect. 6. *What in prudence may be done without disobedience to the Church.*
Sect.

Sect. 7. *The Conclusion of this Discourse.*

THE last point of Enquiry propounded was, what has been all along from the Primitive dayes the practice of the Catholick Church? For certainly, Christian Religion not being new, nor changeable, Universal and constant practice ought to sway much with us in all points thereof.

And in answer to this Enquiry, I say summarily, it cannot reasonably be denied, (1.) That some passages in our present Liturgy were Forms used in the very Times of the Apostles, if not by the Apostles themselves. (2.) That if some of the Apostles themselves did not compile Liturgies, yet soon after the Apostles dayes there were Liturgies compiled, used, and generally injoynd by the Bishops of the more Eminent Churches. (3.) That it is certain that ever since the beginning of the Fourth Century till the Reformation, there have been generally no other prayers but known and approved Forms, publickly used by allowance in the Catholick Church. And Lastly, none other publickly, since the Re-

formation, by allowance in our Church.

For making good the first Assertion, I will produce Three or Four instances: That passage *Sursum corda*, Lift up your hearts, St. *Austin* saith to be *Verba ab ipsorum Apostolorum temporibus petita*, words derived from the time of the very Apostles, as well as used in the Liturgy of the Church in his dayes. And we find them expressely, with the answer to them, *We lift them up unto the Lord*; *Habemus ad Dominum* in the Liturgy ascribed to St. *Peter*, and with every little addition in that ascribed to St. *James*, of both which more anon. But the authority of St. *Cyprian* is elder than St. *Austin's*, who in his Book *De Orat. Dominicâ*, has these words, *Sacerdos ante Orationem, præfatione præmissa, parat fratrum mentes, dicendo sursum corda, ut dum respondet plebs, Habemus ad Dominum, admoneatur, &c.* "The Priest, saith he, in the preface before the prayer (at the Eucharist we will suppose) prepares the minds of the Brethren by saying *Lift up your hearts*, that while the people answer *We lift them up unto the Lord*, they may be ad-

“ admonished , they ought to think of
“ nothing but the Lord.

The words which follow , *Let us give thanks unto the Lord*, and the answer, *It is meet and right so to do;* And then, *It is very meet & right, and our bound duty, &c.* The words Let us give thanks unto the Lord are omitted in St. James's copy but: they are in St. Cyrills of Hierusalem, as in St. Peters.
(*Ὁς ἀληθῶς ἀξίος ἐστὶ καὶ δικαίος, πρέπον τι καὶ ὀφειλόμενον σε αἰνεῖν, &c.*) are also found in the Liturgy ascribed to St. James, the Bishop of Jerusalem, and brother of our Lord, as also in that ascribed to St. Peter. They are also transcribed by S. Cyril, S. James's successour in the See of Hierusalem *Catech. Mystagog. 5.* So is also that Seraphick Hymn, *Therefore with Angels and Archangels, &c.* with some variation. I might alledge more out of this Office of the Holy communion, especially as to the *Trisagium* or the *Holy, Holy, Holy*, which follows in that Hymn, but designing brevity, I pass to the Office of Baptism.

The solemn *renunciation of the Devil and all his works, &c.* the profession of Faith made by the person to be baptized, and some *interrogatories* to these purposes are certainly derived from the Apostles age, if not which is most likely,

ly, for the substance, a Constitution of theirs. *Αποτάσσεσθαι τῷ Σατανᾷ, ὃ τῶν ἑσσοῦς αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἐμπόδιον, &c. *I renounce Satan and his works and pomps*, Clem. Constit. l. 7. And if that Authour be of suspicious credit, or an uncertain age, *Tertullian* is not, who began to write about the end of the second Century. In *Ecclesia, sub Antistitis manu contestamur nos renunciare Diabolo, & Pompæ, & Angelis ejus, &c.* Lib. de coron. mil. *Before Baptism* (saith he) *in the Church under the hand of the Priest, we protest to renounce the Devil, his pomps, and works.* He adds, that being baptised they did, *amplius aliquid respondere quam Dominus in Evangelio determinavit*, answer something more than our Lord had determined in the Gospel; that is, undoubtedly they made a longer profession of Faith, than is set down in the Gospel at the institution of baptism. And his saying they did *respondere*, make responses, must needs infer some interrogatories put to them by the person baptising them.

But *Origen* is express in this matter; who speaking of Rites and Customes so long in use in the Church, that the ground

ground or Original of them could not easily be given, amongst other points demands, *Eorum quæ geruntur in Baptismo, verborum gestorumque, & ordinum atque interrogationum ac responsionum, quis facile explicet rationem?* "Who, saith he, can easily unfold the reason of some things which are done in Baptism, of the words, gestures and orders, of the *Interrogatories* and *Responses* — which yet we observe and fulfil, according as we first took up, being delivered to us by Tradition from our Great *High Priest* (Jesus Christ) or his Disciples. *Oriz. in Num. Homil. 5.* Now this form and practice being so early received in the Church, and ever since retained, cannot, as *Tertullian* expresses himself on a more general case, be (*Erratum sed traditum*) any novelty or corrupt practice, then of late crept into the Church, but delivered to them from the former, that is, the Apostolical age.

Lastly, that in the Apostles dayes not onely the people used to answer their *Amen*, (as is sufficiently concludible from

Hemil.
35. in
1 ad
Cor.

1 Cor. XIV, 16,) but that their prayers used to conclude with some Doxology or blessing of God, which ended in these words (*ἡ δόξα αὐτῷ τῷ πάντοτε*) To ages of ages or *world without end*, is clear out of St. *Cryostom* on the *Corinthians*, who reports this as the close of that *blessing with the spirit*, spoken of there by the *Apostle*, which also *Peter Martyr* on the place has acknowledged. *Ex quo loco habemus, etiam primis illis temporibus preces publicas consuevisse per hæc verba in secula seculorum absolvi.* Now in those *Liturgies* before mentioned, and even in our own, we know how frequently our prayers thus end. These instances I conceive sufficient proof of the first Assertion.

And as to the second, whosoever will without prejudice consider the reasons there are to believe, that some of the *Apostles* left some beginnings or grounds of a *Liturgy*, or of a *Form* and *Order* for publick administration in the worship of God, and that even in words known to have been used by them in their administration, will it may be with me judge it highly credible, that the con-

constitution of a Liturgy in general did derive from the Apostles themselves. We have in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, Bibl. Patr. Three old Liturgies, amongst others, G. Lat. Tom. 2. Two ascribed to Apostles, and one to an Evangelist. The first to St. James the brother of our Lord, whom *Eusebius* affirms to have been by the Apostles chosen first Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and who seems to have acted as such, being President in the first Council held at *Hiernusalem* (*Acts XV, 13.*) and delivering the definitive sentence. The second to Saint *Mark* the Evangelist, whom Ecclesiastical Authours generally agree to have been the first Bishop of that Famous Church of *Alexandria*. And the third to St. *Peter*. Now touching these, I will first set down the Opinion of two persons very much versed in Antiquity, and then my own thoughts with their reasons. The truly learned Mr. *Thorndike* & Dr. *Heylin*, having allowed it *sub judice*, how far these Liturgies, as to the ground of them, were theirs, whose names they bear, acquaint us, that upon comparing each of them with the Liturgies of the respective Churches, where those

Relig. Assen. chap. 7. Hist. of Liturg. Ch. 5.

Holy men longest presided, or which at least pretend them to have presided there, it will appear, that the Liturgy ascribed to St. Peter is, *for the main and substance, the foundation and ground of the Roman*; that to St. Mark, of the *Alexandrian*, extant in the forementioned collection; that to St. James, of the *Hierosolymitan*: whence they conclude them to have been the *Ancient Liturgies of those several Churches*, and afterwards for the gaining of authority to them, to have had those great Names affixt to them. But they affirm them according to the judgment of the Learned (and I do not doubt but there is sufficient proof of it) *as ancient doubtless as the third Century*. Now for my part, with submission to the more judicious, I conceive we may be more positive, & justify what we say, if as I have done, we affirm more. I do therefore ingenuously and in plain terms profess, that as I am not so fond and credulous to think that any of these Liturgies intirely as we now find them modelled, were of these inspired Authours compofure, so on the other side I am not so infidel as to think, that

that nothing in any of them was theirs. There are many passages which singularly favour of the simplicity and ardent devotion of those dayes, though this *golden* part be almost buried in the *hay and stubble* which later ages have heaped thereto. That it is probable there might be some ground-work laid by these Holy men, seemes concludible from what has been said on the former Head: otherwise, how should those passages come so early and universally into the Church, if none of the Apostles had used some more constant Order, than what is of extemporary suggestion, in publick Offices, and the very Forms of words which they used, had not been long known, observed and recorded? Nor doth it at all hinder, that though these Liturgies are assigned to different Authours, yet in many substantial parts they so agree, as if one hand had been in them all: for it is no wonder that there should be much concord, even in words as well as things, amongst those who had all been bred Disciples under the same Master. And we are to remember, what we have from as ancient a Father as most

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Clem. extant, *Μία γάρ ἡ πάντων γένησι τῶν Ἀποστόλων*,
 Alex. *ὡς περ ἐδιδασκαλία, ὅτως καὶ ἐκτέλεσι.* *As the Do-*
 Strom. *ctrine of all the Apostles was ore and the*
 lib. 7. *same, so was their Tradition as to out-*
 ward Order. And in the other corrup-
 ter parts, which came not from the A-
 postles, these Offices might have, if not
 the same interpolators, yet of the same
 judgment. But that which swaies me
 most to this mind, is what I confess I am
 not able to answer if it be, as it is, plead-
 ed for them: especially as to that ascri-
 bed to St. James, the evidences are ma-
 ny and strong. First, we find this Litu-
 rgy in the Church of Jerusalem in St. Cy-
 ril's dayes, who comments thereon, as
 to divers passages, in his Mytiagogical
 Catechises. Now this Cyril flourished
 about the Year of Christ 350. Secondly,
 I find in *Sixtus Senensis*, to whom I am
 Bibli-
 oth. referr'd by the Publishers of this Litu-
 rgy touching its authority, that *Proclus*
 Sant. Archbishop of *Constantinople* (according
 lib. 2. to usual calculation about the yea 418)
 who was a stout oppugner of *Nestorius*
 in the third General Council at *Ephesus*,
 owned a Liturgy beginning as this doth,
ut veram & germanam Jacobi Scriptura-
ram,

ram, as being *St. James's* genuine Work, and that it was used as such in the *Greek Church*. And Lastly, what prevaieth most is the suffrage of the Fathers in the sixth General Council, begun at *Constantinople*, but denominated from *Trullo* where it was finished, who avow in defence of their Thirty second Canon, or the rite which they thereby enact, that *S. James the brother of our Lord, according to the flesh — in an holy Office or ritual delivered to them (the Fathers) in writing* published that so it ought to be done. And we find it accordingly in that Liturgy, which bears his name. Now whether that rite of mixing water with the wine were really a Tradition of *St. James's* or no, it mattereth not to my purpose: It is not easily supposeable, that Two hundred twenty seven Fathers (for so many there were in that Council) should urge an authority of dubious repute, or alledge a Book to be then received, which was not received. And this is evidence sufficient to prove, that in the Ancient Church, which was nearer the Apostles times, and had more advantage to search the truth, it was no wise doubted but
some

some of the Apostles were Authours to the Church of a publick stated Form of Worship (which is all I contend for) however those Forms are not come sincere to us. This as to the Liturgy ascribed to St. James. There are some authorities which I could produce for that of St. Marks, and the other of St. Peters, indefinitely, that those Holy men were reputed to have left Liturgies to their Churches, I do not say these intirely but in part, for I avow these abominably corrupt: but what I have said is enough to my design in the assertion I have laid down.

Now if any one should judge the first part thereof, that some of the Apostles did deliver the Grounds of a Liturgy to the Church, scarce evident, yet thus much is beyond controversie, that Liturgies under these names (particularly that attributed to St. James) were extant in the times alledged, and that is the first proof which I produce for the later part of that my second Assertion, That soon after the Apostles dayes, there were Liturgies compiled, used, and generally in-joined by the Bishops of the more eminent

nent Churches. As to the compiling and
 use of Liturgies, it is plain that one of
 these, as to the ground of it, could
 not be of later date than the Third cen-
 tury, if of so late. And as to the injuncti-
 on of Liturgies, there cannot be clearer
 evidence demanded, than express Ca-
 nons of Councils or Synods. Now it is
 beyond question, that in early dayes it
 was provided in the Christian Church,
 that the Prayers approved by Councils
 should be publickly used: and if any
 other were requisite, yet none should
 be of publick use, till such time they had
 passed the Councils, or the Bishops ap-
 probation. And particularly to this pur-
 pose, the Council of *Laodicea* held ac-
 cording to *Baronius* about the year 314, Vid. Ba-
ron. in
appen.
ad To-
4.
 or 315, which first and best settled the
 Canon of Scripture (the Old Testament,
 if I mistake not, fully as we receive it as
 to the number of Books, and the New
 one so too, within one) that Venerable
 Council I say, has this Canon, *Περὶ τῶ αὐτοῦ
 λόγου, γὰρ τὸν ἑυχῆν πάντοτε καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑκκλησίαις, καὶ ἐν
 ἑσπέραις ὡς ἐκεῖν γινώσκω*, Can. 18: *That there
 should be alwayes the same Order (Form
 or Liturgy) of Prayers, both at Nine a
 O clock*

clock (in the Morning) and in the Evening. Here is an injunction by a Council; which because some would so construe, as to reconcile it with a liberty of every Ministers framing his own Forms, provided he use constantly the same, we will add to the Canon the Gloss, which its old Commentator put upon it, which interprets it directly against this sense, that *those who had a mind might not* ^{Εὐχαρί}

Zonar.
in Con-
cil. La-
odic.

id est: Constitui, compose their own prayers, & say these in the Assemblies, but that ^{ταὶ αὐταὶ}
Εὐχαρί, ἧς αὖ ταὶ ἡδὴ παραδεδεμέναι, the same pray-

ers, that is, those which were already received by tradition, should be made in each Assembly. For confirmation of which sense, he cites the Twenty third Canon of the Council of *Carthage*, as being to the same effect with this, by which it was ordained, ^{Τὰς καθιερωμένας παρὰ τῆς Συνόδου Εὐ-}
^{χαρίας παρὰ πάντων λέγεσθαι ἢ μὴ νέας ἄλλας}, *That*

In Cod.
Can.
Affic.
Can.
103.

the prayers appointed and authorised by the Synod should be used, and not other new ones. By which report of this twenty third Canon of *Carthage* by *Zonaras*, it is evident, that either the Latin copies, extant in the *Magdeburgenses*, *Carranza*, &c, are faulty as to that 23. Canon, if not others,

others, as some seem to have proved, or that we are to understand those words in it [*cum Fratribus instructoribus contulerint*] of some Bishops conferring about the new prayers (spoken of, with *superiour Bishops* or the Fathers in a Council, & procuring their approbation and authority thereto. And the above celebrated Doctour *Heylin*, proves by the three preceding Canons, the 15, 16, and 17, Hist. of Liturg. Ch 6. (much to this purpose) & by the subsequent, Can. 19, that the sense of the Council is for stated Liturgies; and the other cannot possibly be admitted, without destroying the design of the Council in them all: which will be evident to any one who will peruse the Canons thereof.

The next evidence I shall produce shall be in the following Age, the Canon of the Council of *Milevis*, held, as is evident by the very preamble of the Acts, under the Empire of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*; and therefore about the year 403, or 404, *Placuit & illud ut preces vel orationes quæ probatæ fuerint in concilio,* C 11. 12 &c. "It also hath seemed good unto us, that those prayers and supplications which have been approved in the

“ Council, and such prefaces (I suppose in celebrating the Eucharist) and “ commemorations be used by all. *Nec alia omnino dicantur in Ecclesia nisi quæ à prudentioribus tractata, vel comprobata in Synodo fuerint;* “ And that none other at all be used in the Church, but “ such which have been examined by “ the more prudent (and such certainly were the Bishops of the Churches reputed) “ or approved in the Synod. The reason (above touched) of this their constitution is most wholesome, namely, for the prevention of errours and innovations in Faith, which may be very successfully insinuated into mens affections by new and arbitrary prayers.

From henceforward, it were easie to be copious in producing the Canons of subsequent Ages: for scarce a Council past without some reference to, or reinforcement of, such former constitutions. I will mention some in the succeeding Ages, that it may be evident, what was the constant practice of the Church. The Council held at *Agatha* (now *Agde*) in *France*, about the Year 506, has its 21. Canon to our purpose. *Quia convenit*

ordinem Ecclesiæ ab omnibus æqualiter custodiri, statuendum est; sicut ubique fit, &c. To the same effect effect the Council of *Pau* (*Epannense*) in *Burgundy* about 2 or 3 yeares after; the Council at *Girona* (*Gerundense*) in *Spain*, in the year 518. *Primum Statuitur ut unaquæque provincia in officio Ecclesiæ unum ordinem teneat.* Their first Canon is that "Every province ob-
 "serve the same order in the service of the Church. To omit others, in the next age, the fourth council at *Toledo*, held about the year 632, has its second Canon thus: *Placuit ut unus ordo orandi atque psallendi a nobis per omnem Hispaniam & Galliciam conservetur: unus modus in, &c. quia in unâ fide continemur & regno* "We think fit there be observed
 "one order of praying and singing.
 "throughout all *Spain* and *Galicia*, one
 "form in celebrating the solemnities
 "of the Eucharist, one form in the
 "Even-song &c. because we are all of
 "one faith and Kingdome.

Should I proceed beyond these yeares in alleging authorities of this nature, it would be said against all that follow, corrup-

ptions & Popish superstitions now came in apace on the Church, & it is not much to be heeded what the councils in such dayes enacted. Now though all men know the pretended universal Bishop had not yet so easily gotten the universal power, as to overaw all Councils and synods, yet on this suggestion, I will give my reader no more exercise for patience on this subject; these things having, I presume, both abundantly proved my second assertion, and made a fair way for the *third*.

Which being negative, the proof indeed would rather lye on the other side (possession being, as they say, a good title, till a better is made out) The Church were to be produced which in some time, betwixt the daies from whence we have dated Liturgies & the reformation at *Geneva*, did allow arbitrary or conceived prayers. But this indeed being not to be done, we will give it as good a proof as the case will admitt, and such, the foundation of which we have already laid. We will then suppose (& the supposition will be deemed violent by none, who have read any

any thing, and observed the severity of those ages in points of Ecclesiastical order and discipline) that in former daies men did not, as they do now in our country, make lawes and never keep them. If Ecclesiastical order was once enacted, it was strictly observed: excommunications then were dreadfull, and pennances heavy. So that haveing found the observation of Liturgies so expressly decreed, and these decrees so frequently all over the Church iterated and enforced, in every particular province whither the Church had spread it selfe, we cannot think the allowed practice of the Catholick Church was contrary to its direct and so often repeated lawes. On the other side we may conclude the censures of the Church to have been brisk & severe against all who affected innovation in this case, and in any the least regard made attempts thereto.

I remember not at present, in my small reading to have met with any, who varied from the publick received or appointed Forms of Worship, but such who being themselves infected with some

some Hæresie or other, had a mind to spread their contagion, and used this as the least suspicious, and most effectual course of instilling its poison into the people. Thus *Paulus Samosatenns* Bishop of *Antioch* about the year 262 (according to *Eusebius*) took away (*Psalmos & Cantus qui ad Domini nostri Jesu Christi honorem decantari solebant, tanquam recentiores & à viris recentioris memorie editos &c*) "The Psalms & Hymns, which
 "had been used to be sung in the Church
 "to the praise of God and Christ, pre-
 "tending them to be new and compos-
 "ed by men of later date (though it seems they had been used before his time) "and introduced new ones of his own : but this in order to the magnifying of himself, and spreading his own Hæresie against the Divinity of Christ.

Now how this was taken, though in a Bishop of so eminent a Church, the same *Eusebius* reports. A Council was called at *Antioch*, whither resorted almost infinite Bishops, Priests and Deacons, by whose unanimous consent he was censured, and particularly for this practice, as appears by the very Conciliar Epistle :

Eccles.
 Hist. li
 7, cap.
 22, 23,
 24.

Epistles He was, *ab omnibus sub Cælo Ecclesiis excommunicatus*, Excommunicated by all the Churches under Heaven, deposed from his Bishoprick, and refusing to submit, extruded by the *secular arm* of *Aurelian* the Emperour, with the greatest disgrace.

Afterwards the *Arrians* attempted much a less change in the Doxology, used at the end of the Psalms, about the middle of the Fourth Century, some of them singing one while in stead of *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost*, onely thus, *Glory be to the Father, and the Son, in the Holy Ghost*, and after a while, *Glory be to the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghost*, both which though admissible in a good sense, escaped not sudden notice and censure: *The Shibboleth* was soon perceived and checkt, being universally disapproved, rejected and overruled by the Orthodox Church.

What kind of Prayers the *Andians*, as *Epiphanius*, or *Andæans* as, *Theodore* calls them, used, I do not find recorded. These were a sort of *Anthropomorphites*, generally of a very strict life, but refused

Epiph.
contr.
Hær.
lib. 3.
Tom. 1.

sed to hold communion in Prayers with any, though never so blameless and upright Christians, except such who were of their own Sect: which practice of theirs *Epiphanius* calls, as it was indeed, *most grievous and horrible*. For this cause amongst others, *Audius* himself was censured by the Church, and afterwards banished into *Scythia*, where, and amongst the *Goths*, he ended his days; and his Followers being adjudged *Hæreticks* and *Schismaticks*, the Sect in some time, of it self fell. By these instances it is plain enough what was the sense and practice of the Church, in reference to those who innovated the least, in point of the Publick Prayers or Worship. For though it may be said, these several persons or parties were censured rather for the Hæresies couched in their new formd devotions, than for the making to themselves new Forms, yet it must be together acknowledged, that their very making of New Forms, or attempting upon the Old, being adjudged one particular, which amongst others is recorded, or taken notice of, to have made up the summe total of their respective Hæresies

refies and Schifms, such practice cannot according to the judgment of the Church in those dayes be looked upon as innocent, much less allowed and well esteemed. And withall it appears how just reason the Church has had, both for due composing and prescribing Liturgies, as finding ever no more succesful expedient for the preventing the subtle spreading of Hæresie, and preserving the Unity of Faith and Doctrine, than Uniformity in the publick Worship. In which care of preventing the one, and preserving the other, if we will allow the Church to have persisted, we must admit what is contended for, to have been her constant practice ever since that first constitution of Liturgies. And if it be but just and reasonable that the Church still persist in such endeavours (as certainly the experience of this Age has sufficiently convinced it is) then is it fit such order be still maintained.

For a conclusion in this particular, I must not omit, that long since there has been an expresse challenge made and published, by a most learned and sincere person (one who had read as much it

M. Herbert